

7204, which provides for the Federal incorporation for American companies in China; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

4686. Also, petition of the National Board of Farm Organizations, protesting against antistrike legislation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4687. By Mr. STINESS: Petition of the Chamber of Commerce of Providence, R. I., opposing the proposed Great Lakes-St. Lawrence tidewater project; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

4688. Also, petition of the Rhode Island Women's Club, favoring the passage of the Sheppard-Towner bills which provide for the protection of maternity and infancy; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4689. By Mr. TEMPLE: Petition of Local Union No. 3825, United Mine Workers of America, of Meadow Lands, Pa., in support of joint resolution for amnesty and repeal of espionage law; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

4690. By Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota: Petition of commissioners of the city of Fargo, N. Dak., favoring the passage of legislation vesting exclusive authority in the mining, marketing, and fixing of prices of coal; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4691. Also, petition of several voters from the second congressional district of North Dakota, requesting Congressman YOUNG to support bill abolishing speculation in foodstuffs; to the Committee on Agriculture.

SENATE.

THURSDAY, December 23, 1920.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we have come to the season of the year which is central in Christian civilization, bearing to us a message, a message from the Father full of compassion and grace. As we enter upon the Christmas season we pray that we may be enabled to catch the spirit of this season and hear the message that Thou dost send to us, and have our hearts responsive to this message, that we may have a new consecration of ourselves to the God whom we have learned through the Son to call our Father in Heaven.

We thank Thee for all the cherished and blessed memories of Christmas time, and pray that they may be brought to us anew to-day. May the heart of Christian civilization rejoice in its welcome to the Christ. "Thanks be to God for His unspeakable gift." We ask Thy blessing. For Christ's sake. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (George A. Sanderson) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D. C., December 23, 1920.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. CHARLES CURTIS, a Senator from the State of Kansas, to perform the duties of the Chair this legislative day.

ALBERT B. CUMMINS,
President pro tempore.

Mr. CURTIS thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer.

THE JOURNAL.

On request of Mr. LODGE, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday last was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. LODGE. I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it be to meet on Monday next at 12 o'clock.

The motion was agreed to.

CALL OF THE ROLL.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Secretary will call the roll.

The reading clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Fletcher	Henderson	Lenroot
Beckham	France	Hitchcock	Lodge
Borah	Frelinghuysen	Johnson, Calif.	McCumber
Brandeggee	Gay	Jones, Wash.	McKellar
Caldor	Gerry	Kellogg	McLean
Capper	Glass	Kendrick	McNary
Culbertson	Gronna	Kenyon	Myers
Curtis	Hale	Keyes	Nelson
Dial	Harris	King	New
Edge	Harrison	Knox	Norris
Elkins	Hefflin	La Follette	Nugent

Page	Ransdell	Smoot	Townsend
Phipps	Reed	Sterling	Wadsworth
Poinexter	Sheppard	Sutherland	Watson
Pomerene	Smith, Ga.	Thomas	

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, my colleague [Mr. UNDERWOOD] is unavoidably absent on account of a death in his family. He has a general pair with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING].

Mr. KENDRICK. My colleague [Mr. WARREN] is absent on official business.

Mr. HARRISON. I announce the unavoidable absence of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON]. Both Senators are absent on account of illness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Fifty-nine Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

REPORTS ON CONSUMPTION OF AMERICAN COTTON (S. DOC. NO. 348).

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and ordered to be printed and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

To the Senate:
I transmit herewith a report by the Acting Secretary of State covering information received by the Department of State in response to the instructions sent by that department to consular officers of the United States in foreign countries where American cotton is consumed, in pursuance of the Senate resolution of May 4, 1920, "to ascertain as near as possible what quantity of American cotton will be needed during the present year by the countries in which they are located," and "to make suggestions as to means by which markets for American cotton may be enlarged and extended."

It is regretted that reports have not yet been received from some of the posts instructed; but these will be transmitted to the Senate as they arrive. Meanwhile, the Acting Secretary of State furnishes some information regarding conditions at these posts which it is thought may be of interest to the Senate as responsive to the resolution.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, 20 December, 1920.

WORLD'S DAIRY CONGRESS OF 1922 (S. DOC. NO. 347).

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read and, with the accompanying papers, ordered to be printed and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a report by the Acting Secretary of State, with an accompanying copy of a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, favoring legislation by the Congress that will give governmental sanction to the World's Dairy Congress, which it is contemplated to hold in the United States in 1922, and will enable the Government of the United States officially to invite participation of foreign Governments therein.

I invite the attention of the Congress to the commercial and scientific value which the Secretary of Agriculture thinks would accrue to the important dairy industry of the United States by holding the proposed congress, and I ask for the matter the favorable consideration of the Congress.

It will be observed that no appropriation is asked for at this time, but that if the holding of the proposed congress be authorized by the Congress of the United States, it may be that the dairy organizations of the United States may, if found necessary, ask the Congress for a small appropriation in addition to the \$100,000 which they themselves purpose to raise.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
23 December, 1920.

COLOMBIAN TREATY.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I wish to give notice that on Monday, the 3d of January next, at the close of the routine morning business I shall submit to the Senate some observations upon the proposed treaty between the United States and Colombia.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by D. K. Hempstead, its enrolling clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolution:

S. 1. An act authorizing the cutting of timber by corporations organized in one State and conducting operations in another;

S. 2977. An act to amend section 8 of an act to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States and Territories ap-

proved March 3, 1877, as amended by an act to repeal timber-culture laws, and for other purposes, approved March 3, 1891; and

S. J. Res. 227. Joint resolution extending the time within which the special committee appointed to investigate the advisability of establishing certain naval, aviation, and submarine bases in the United States is required to make its report to Congress.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolution, in which the concurrence of the Senate was requested:

H. R. 15275. An act imposing temporary duties upon certain agricultural products to meet present emergencies, to provide revenue, and for other purposes;

H. R. 12045. An act to provide for the conveyance of lots on the low grounds of Washington, District of Columbia;

H. R. 12161. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909. (35 Stat. L., 1134);

H. R. 10920. An act declaring Platte River to be a nonnavigable stream;

H. R. 14122. An act to authorize the sale of a portion of the Copper Harbor Range Lighthouse Reservation, Mich., to Houghton and Keweenaw Counties, Mich.;

H. R. 9389. An act to consolidate, codify, revise, and reenact the general and permanent laws of the United States in force March 4, 1919; and

H. J. Res. 346. Joint resolution extending the time for payment of purchase money on homestead entries in the former Standing Rock Indian Reservation, in the States of North and South Dakota.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, each with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (S. 46) for the protection of the water supply of the town of Sunnyside, Utah; and

A bill (S. 2964) providing additional time for the payment of purchase money under homestead entries of lands within the former Fort Assiniboine Military Reservation in Montana.

The message further announced that the House had passed with amendments the bill (S. 2188) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1901, in which the concurrence of the Senate was requested.

The message further announced that the House agrees to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7930) to provide for the treatment in hospital of diseased alien seamen.

The message also announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 68) for printing statistics of imports and duties, 1908-1918, as a House document for the use of the House and the Senate, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed a concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 69) for printing Summary of Tariff Information, 1920, as a House document for the use of the House and the Senate, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were thereupon signed by the Acting President pro tempore:

S. 4565. An act extending the time for the doing of annual assessment work on mining claims for the year 1920 to and including July 1, 1921;

H. R. 7930. An act to provide for the treatment in hospital of diseased alien seamen; and

S. J. Res. 212. Joint resolution directing the War Finance Corporation to take certain action for the relief of the present depression in the agricultural sections of the country, and for other purposes.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION—THE DYE INDUSTRY.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask the indulgence of the Senate for a few moments regarding an editorial in the New York Times of the 21st instant and a communication to it from Dr. Charles H. Herty, to both of which my attention was called in a letter received yesterday signed by John Franklin Crowell. The fact that both the communication and the editorial refer to me personally, and evoked this inquiry, must be my explanation to the Senate for trespassing upon its time. The letter which inclosed one of these documents is brief, and I shall read it:

Your reputation for fairness and public spirit and attitude on business questions, from which your position in the dyestuffs bill seems to me to be a departure, leads me to ask whether your actual position is correctly represented in the inclosed clipping. While I have no thought of financial interest in the Longworth bill, it seems to me to be in line with public interest and deserving of support. I am equally sure that you must have some good reason for your position, and I would appreciate being advised.

The editorial bears the caption "The Threatened Dyestuff Industry," and I can read it in less time than in attempting to state its purport.

THE THREATENED DYESTUFF INDUSTRY.

Like the American merchant marine, the dye and dyestuff industries were an incident and achievement of the War with Germany; in other words, if there had been no war there would now be no American ocean ships to carry American cargoes to every port in the world, and there would be no valuable dyestuff industry, indispensable to manufacturers and employing a great army of workmen. No American would propose the scrapping of the merchant marine or tolerate it. Why should the dyestuff industry be scrapped or sacrificed? Any mistake in legislation dealing with this American industry that grew out of the exigencies of the war would cause rejoicing in Germany. The Germans alone would benefit by it. They would profit enormously if our new industry were neglected and allowed to languish, ultimately to perish.

It should not be forgotten that during the war the Germans turned dye factories into poison-gas factories and were very near to winning the war in the drive of March-April, 1918, by gassing the allied troops. Two years ago, when American hospitals were filled with soldiers suffering tortures from the effects of the enemy's poison gas—hundreds of soldiers had been asphyxiated and died on the field—the American dyestuff industries were struggling toward prosperity without the aid of German dyes, and public opinion demanded that they should be made self-sustaining, so that they could stand alone and be independent. A good deal of capital has since been invested on the justifiable assumption that Congress would assist with necessary legislation after the war when Germany endeavored to recapture her dye and dyestuff trade.

At the first session of the present Congress Mr. LONGWORTH, of Ohio, introduced in the House a bill to safeguard the industry for a limited period and to enable consumers to obtain dyes which American producers are not yet able to furnish. The measure was described as "a bill to regulate the importation of coal-tar products and to promote the establishment of the manufacture thereof." American textile concerns were to be supplied with imported dyes through a commission which would issue licenses upon application. The commission, consisting of representatives of leading manufacturers' associations, was to allow only importations actually needed.

I might say, Mr. President, that that commission is still functioning and excluding all dyes that are not a prime essential to American industries.

In England a licensing bill has passed the House of Commons and will become a law. In the interval since ratification of the peace treaty the Germans have "dumped" dyes and dyestuffs valued at \$5,000,000 into England, and the home industry would be ruined without legislative help.

England placed an embargo upon all German dyes very shortly after the armistice, and so did France; but both were soon compelled to repeal those drastic provisions in order to secure a sufficient supply for their textile industries.

In this country the home industry will collapse unless legislation on the lines of the Longworth bill is provided. The Longworth measure has already passed the House. In the Senate two Senators, THOMAS, of Colorado, and MOSES, of New Hampshire, prevented passage, and unless their obstruction is overcome by the plain logic of the situation or by closure in an extremity the American dyestuff industry is doomed. If it deserves support and assistance—and there should be no cavilling about the wisdom of sustaining and encouraging the industry—the Longworth bill can be amended to perfect it. Before the peace treaty is ratified or peace with Germany made in any way the protecting law should be on the statute book.

This editorial, Mr. President, was evidently inspired by the communication from Dr. Charles H. Herty. Dr. Herty is the editor of a chemical journal representing the chemical industry. He was formerly a professor in two of the universities of the South, that of Georgia and of North Carolina. He was then a tariff-for-revenue man, but has since been converted to the extreme doctrine of protection. Macaulay said that there is no zeal like the zeal of an apostate and no hatred like the hatred of a renegade. I am not disposed to apply this aphorism in all its harshness to this gentleman, notwithstanding the fact that his zeal for an embargo on dyestuffs imports would fully warrant my doing so.

The doctor went on a mission to France and Germany last winter partly to secure dyestuffs, which he did not secure, and partly to ascertain the condition of the industry over there. He went to Ludwigshafen, where the Badische factories are located; he saw smoke coming from 12 out of 14 chimneys; he never stopped to inquire further but hastened to the seacoast, took the first ship sailing to America, and breathlessly informed the committee because of that situation that the German dyestuff industries had been resurrected, were running full blast, and would soon deluge this country with their merchandise. Before our committee he went so far as to say that our one protection would be to require Germany to scrap and dismantle all her dye and chemical establishments.

I refer to these matters as indicating the extremes of view which this gentleman indulges and which may palliate the making of the absolutely unfounded statements of his communica-

tion upon which the Times, which is a very fair and reliable publication, particularly as regards its editorial statements of fact, bases this editorial. I am sure it was made on secondhand information, else its conclusion that without the drastic provisions of the Longworth bill the industry is doomed, for that is both silly and absurd.

I shall not read all of this letter, Mr. President, but shall ask leave at this time to insert it in the Record as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, permission to do so is granted.

The letter referred to is as follows:

THE DYE BILL—CONDITIONS OF THE INDUSTRY IN GERMANY AND HERE.
To the Editor of the New York Times:

Two years ago, when our hospitals were filled with American soldiers wounded by the poison gases made in German dye factories, when our textile, leather, paper, and other industries were smarting under the experience of servility to a foreign nation for supplies of needed dyes, the thought of the Nation was clear as to the necessity of a complete self-sustained American dye industry.

That thought reflected itself upon the Congress of the United States and found expression more than a year ago in the passage by the House of Representatives of the Longworth bill, a measure adequately protecting for a limited time our rapidly growing dye industry and at the same time insuring ample means for consumers to obtain those dyes which American producers are not yet in position to furnish.

During the intervening year a remarkable situation has developed. Two pictures have been painted which should be exhibited before all thoughtful Americans.

In Germany, despite the protestations of poverty and consequent inability to meet reparation payments, the unification of the great German dye plants, effected in 1916 and originally planned to continue until 1960, has now been extended to the year 2000. For the enlarged operation of these plants new capital is being called and eagerly subscribed by German citizens. Badische, Bayer, and Hoechst are each adding 90,000,000 marks, Berlin Anilin 30,000,000 marks.

An entirely new factor now enters. The world's destiny is more closely bound up in the utilization of nitrogen than in that of any other chemical element. This element when properly harnessed affects food supply, dominates war material, and enters largely into dye manufacture. It is the one raw material of which Germany has an unlimited supply, as it constitutes four-fifths of the atmosphere. For its utilization under the Haber process but little power is required. Prof. Haber, who worked out the details of this process, is the same Prof. Haber who was the head and front of Germany's war gas program. The future operation of the Haber process on a greatly increased scale is now under a special organization controlled by the dye cartel or trust, the present capitalization of the nitrogen organization being fixed at 500,000,000 marks. To-day the American representative of this organization is endeavoring to sell nitrite of soda at very low prices from "that portion of nitrite of soda as produced by the Badische Anilin and Soda Fabrik of Germany through their atmospheric nitrogen development which has been allotted for consumption in the United States." A letter from this agent further states: "We have instructions from Germany to find out the prospects of nitrite of soda consumption in the United States over the year 1921."

That is the picture which, more than any other, bears directly upon the future peace of the world.

Look now at the other picture painted by our own hands.

The Longworth bill went to the Senate more than a year ago, extended hearings were held, a skeptical Senate was convinced, and the bill, indorsed by Republicans and Democrats alike, was favorably reported last spring, though the importers of German dyes and a small group of textile interests opposed it at every step. It has been impossible to gain a vote on the measure. Why? Because two Senators, one a Republican and one a Democrat, Senators MOSES and THOMAS, have conducted a determined filibuster, under the Senate rules, against the measure and are still determined to continue that filibuster.

Mr. THOMAS. Dr. Herty says that Badische, Bayer, and Hoechst, who are German manufacturers of dyestuffs and chemicals, have each added 90,000,000 marks to their capital. This is one of his sinister indications of returning German dye prosperity; but, Mr. President, when we consider that the mark is now worth less than 2 cents, when before the war it was worth nearly 25 cents, it will at once be seen that this capital, though prodigious in figures, is actually very small as regards actual value. And it is far less than the water which has recently been injected into the American dye combinations to which I shall shortly refer.

The doctor then refers to the manufacture of nitrates in Germany, which I think the farmers of this country now need about as badly as they have ever needed fertilizer. What a calamity cheap nitrates would now be to agriculture. Dr. Herty, after singing his usual hymn of praise to the Longworth bill, in behalf of which hearings were had which he says converted or convinced a skeptical Senate, refers to the fact that the bill failed to reach a vote because of the opposition of Senators THOMAS and MOSES. Then, he adds:

As a result of this inaction, this uncertainty as to the future, the continued growth of the American dye industry has been seriously set back. Contemplated developments have been postponed; research staffs are being curtailed; chemists whose work had accomplished such brilliant results during the past four years are now seeking employment; capital has become shy; the enthusiasm of the many prospective chemists now filling our university laboratories is becoming chilled—all because two Members of the Senate are obdurate.

The American picture has been blotched. For its restoration only one means remains—the adoption of a closure rule on this bill by the Senate. No matter how great the hesitancy may be regarding the adoption of a closure rule, the situation demands it. Arguments on the

merits of the bill are no longer needed. The case has been made out. Bring the measure to a vote. Vital interests are too deeply at stake for two Members of the Senate to block a nation's will.

CHARLES H. HERTY.

NEW YORK, December 17, 1920.

Mr. President, I shall not now inflict another argument upon the Senate regarding this measure, but I will confine myself so far as I can to the charge made and particularly to the editorial in the Times which falsely, although perhaps ignorantly, declares that without the immediate enactment of this particular bill the dye industry is doomed. I may say, however, that as a prelude to this editorial the New York Times on the 7th day of December, 1920, published an article purporting to be a dispatch from Berlin dated the 6th day of December, entitled:

German dye firms prepare to sweep world. Public shares confidence and offers capital.

Then follows a remarkable statement which the uninitiated would construe as meaning that the commercial and industrial activities of the German people and the capitalists of Germany, especially as to this particular industry, were being devoted and all of their energies, all of their time, and all of their money were being consecrated to the rehabilitation of this particular business, and that the alarm was being sounded to the American manufacturer of pending destructive German competition; yet in the next column of the paper—and I have made the clipping together—appeared another dispatch of the same date from Berne, Switzerland, headed:

Germany starving, observers assert. Find children in shocking state from underfeeding, and people perishing of cold. Forster fears anarchy. Unless effective aid comes quickly no one can foretell the consequences.

In the same paper, on the same page, and in adjacent columns, the New York Times informed the people of the United States, first, that Germany is resuming her antewar prosperous industrial condition; and, second, that her people are starving to death and must have help at once if a great human calamity is to be averted. There is no need to comment upon such a contradiction.

Now, Mr. President, a few words regarding the condition of the dye industry. Before the close of my remarks at the last session I obtained possession of and introduced a contract between the Levinsteins and the Du Ponts under which, like the Pope of old, they divided the world into two great divisions, the eastern half, so far as the dye trade was concerned, to be occupied by the Levinsteins and the western half by the Du Ponts. Shortly prior to, and, I think, on the last day of the session, or late at night on the next to the last day, a Senator from this floor referred to my criticisms of the document, and said that it was merely designed to give to each information concerning a particular trade which might be used for the benefit of all; in other words, that it did not create or tend to create a monopoly simply because there were industries outside the pale of its influence, and, of course, in these days nothing is a monopoly which is not the equivalent of a complete industrial despotism.

The matter referred to is as follows:

[New York Times, Tuesday, December 7, 1920.]

GERMAN DYE FIRMS PREPARE TO SWEEP WORLD; PUBLIC SHARES CONFIDENCE AND OFFERS CAPITAL.

BERLIN, December 6.

All big concerns in Germany are going to fortify themselves with large amounts of new capital so as to face the fight for the world's markets.

The most conspicuous feature of the German money market of late has been the fact that of the three chief dye-making firms, Messrs. Friedrich Bayer, Badische Anilin und Soda Fabrik, and the Meister Lucius concern is each calling for 90,000,000 marks of fresh capital. The Anilin Fabrikation Co., another member of the trust which lately announced a dividend of 18 per cent, is calling for an additional 30,000,000 marks. There is, I am told, a rush for these shares, as the public has confidence in the ability of the dye companies, and the latter are equally sure of their future.

A member of the board of directors of a well-known company, which during the last year multiplied its previous year's profits by six-fold, told me the other day that the Dye Trust was so certain of the superiority of its productions that it has no reason to suppose any restrictions will bar its activities in the world's best markets. Dye Trust agents who have been in England, he said, returned greatly encouraged, and from most other countries reports are altogether satisfactory.

Another big concern, that of Messrs. Franz Rasquin & Co., of Muelheim, announced net profits just over 3,000,000 marks, as against 600,000 marks last year, and it increased its dividends from 30 to 40 per cent. The firm's report states that it "has large orders in hand at good prices."

In order to speed up the dye business the trust is unloading its interests in the Merzbürg and Opan Chemical Manure Works onto a new company with 500,000,000 marks capital, and the trust arrangement, made in August, 1916, to expire in December, 1925, has been extended so as to remain in force. The capital of the trust, formed of seven companies, will be 962,800,000 marks. Four of the chief firms of the trust employ nearly 1,000 research experts.

Regarding foreign trade, the trust is pressing its export department to obtain relief from export restrictions, and the Government is doing all it can in its own way. I learn that reports, even from such places

as Venezuela and China, are very satisfactory. In Venezuela German dyes are pushing out American products, while China took, in the three months of April, May, and June, half the amount of the aniline dyes that England imported in six months. Holland is another market in which German dye firms are doing exceedingly well. During the first half of the present year Holland imported from Germany nearly 18,500,000 florins worth of all kinds of dyestuffs, which at the present rate of exchange means about 380,000,000 marks. Of that amount aniline and tar dyes accounted for 4,500,000 florins, against 180,000 florins for the first half of last year.

It is a curious fact that some German dye firms are running on coal from the United States. German dye-firm agents who have been to the United States report an extremely cool reception, and it is recognized that there will still be a fight for the trade there.

GERMANY STARVING, OBSERVERS ASSERT—FIND CHILDREN IN SHOCKING STATE FROM UNDERFEEDING AND PEOPLE PERISHING OF COLD—FOERSTER FEARS ANARCHY—UNLESS EFFECTIVE AID COMES QUICKLY NO ONE CAN FORETELL THE CONSEQUENCES, HE SAYS.

BERNE, SWITZERLAND, December 6.

For some time past persons of all nationalities returning from Germany have been warning the world with ever increasing vehemence that the great majority of the German people are too underfed to endure the coming winter, even if they could keep their homes warmed, whereas, on the contrary, their homes are mostly unheated. To-day Prof. F. W. Foerster, well known not only as a man of science, but on account of the moderation and courage of his attitude during the war, warns the civilized world through the medium of the *Neus Zuercher Zeitung* that unless help on a large scale can be given to Germany immediately disaster must overtake her and Europe.

"Besides holding solemn conferences, eminent financiers of all countries absolutely must meet to discuss the desperateness of the food conditions in central Europe," he says. "Before their proposals can be acted upon experienced organizers throughout the civilized world must collaborate to undertake relief measures on a large scale in order temporarily to check the underfeeding in German towns and cities. The impending starvation of millions of people during the winter cold is heartrending, and there could indeed be no finer way of celebrating the first consolidation of the League of Nations in Geneva than by taking extensive measures to help central Europe."

"Should Germany continue to suffer so acutely from underfeeding she will develop into a terrible powder magazine, threatening all Europe, as will appear every day more clearly."

Dr. Foerster contends that it is useless to expect Germany to rehabilitate Europe by her labor because she is fast becoming, if she hasn't already become, too nervously and mentally exhausted and too physically weak to do so, even with the best will in the world. Again, he insists on what observers have said that her mental exhaustion and hopelessness expose her to every kind of mental epidemic, such as bolshevism, and cause the German people to listen to wild utterances to which in normal circumstances they would be far too sensible to pay any attention.

British and American Quakers have done much for German women and children, but while grateful for their efforts, Dr. Foerster says these are merely a drop in the ocean. Neutral medical men who have visited various parts of Germany lately bear out Dr. Foerster, and one doctor narrates, without surprise, that an American lady belonging to an American Quaker commission sent to Berlin fainted in a dispensary at sight of the state of Berlin children who had been brought in wrapped in newspapers and in an indescribable condition owing to underfeeding. The condition of new born and older children is so distressing that a Berlin physician has gone the length of seriously addressing parents and telling them that in the present circumstances it is their duty not to bring children into such a world.

Dr. Foerster asks the public not to accuse him of propaganda, and few who know his attitude during the war would be inclined to do so.

Mr. THOMAS. I made the statement then, and I repeat it now, that the real purpose behind this measure—which is not needed at all—is to effectuate a great single consolidated interest here, representing not only this particular branch of chemical development, but the entire chemical industry of the United States. I also made the assertion that the vast capital of the Du Ponts, derived from their various activities, gave them the ability to absorb other industries practically without limitation; and that statement has been verified by the fact that during the vacation of this body the Du Pont Co. has acquired absolute control of the General Motors Co. Of course, that is not an industry connected directly with the subject of my remarks, but it indicates that the income of this vast industrial enterprise is so huge that its beneficiaries may at will absorb any business that may be in the market through a transfer of its corporate shares.

I also then emphasized the very prosperous condition of the dye industry, as represented by the Du Ponts and their competitors. I now call attention, as confirmatory of that statement, to an advertisement of the Du Pont Co. which appears in the *Color Trade Journal* for December. It consists of a beautiful and attractive lithograph or steel engraving or picture of what is called "the heart of the American dyestuffs industry, the Deepwater works of the Du Pont Co. at Deepwater, N. J.," with a statement in the form of an advertisement, wherein this company commits itself:

Building for permanence and not to meet a war-time emergency, our vast Deepwater plant is the visible pledge of the Du Pont Co. to America that her dyestuffs needs will be met, no matter what the situation without her borders.

Let us contemplate that for a moment. It "will be met, no matter what the situation without her borders." Yet Herty and the Times declare that the industry is doomed if we do not speedily place an embargo upon the importation of German dyes

and increase the duties now prevailing and which the dye manufacturers themselves were permitted to write in 1916.

From the research laboratory, through every phase of manufacture back to the checking laboratory, adequate facilities, involving a tremendous investment, are provided for large-scale production of the essential dyestuffs required by the textile manufacturers and other dyestuffs-consuming industries.

That is the Du Pont statement to the people; but there are other announcements in the same periodical upon this subject which are very illuminating.

I turn next to the advertisement of the United States Color & Chemical Co., on the next page, presenting pictures of nine different establishments belonging to it, and from their appearance certainly in a state of high efficiency. The text of the advertisement is equally illuminating.

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. THOMAS. I do.

Mr. McLEAN. I do not wish to curtail the interesting remarks of the Senator from Colorado, but I have here two reports from the Committee on Banking and Currency that ought to be acted on to-day.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I shall take but a very little time. I should not have asked the indulgence of the Senate but for the personal nature of the communication and editorial to which I have called attention.

Mr. McLEAN. If it is the Senator's purpose to close by 1 o'clock I shall not interrupt him further at this time.

Mr. THOMAS. I shall occupy only a very few moments, I hope, beyond what I have already taken.

There are other advertisements of other equally prosperous institutions engaged in this business, evidently oblivious of the doom which hangs over them because of the unpatriotic and reprehensible conduct of two Senators of the United States.

Another combination, this of dye manufacturers themselves, during the interval between our adjournment and our reassembling, is that of the Barrett Co. The Barrett Co. was prosecuted in 1913, or shortly afterwards, and successfully so, for a violation of the antitrust law. It seems, however, to have recovered from that knockout blow, if it was one, and is now one of five large corporations which have consolidated to form the Allied Chemical & Dye Corporation. The president of the Barrett Co. announced in the Barrett Trail for October that—

All of the merging companies will be run as independent entities. So that as far as the Barrett Co. is concerned there is contemplated no change of any kind in its manner of conducting its business or in its personnel.

The Allied Chemical & Dye Corporation made a statement during the last week of September, 1920, scarcely 60 days ago, giving the assets, liabilities, and income of the consolidated companies—the Barrett Co., the National Aniline & Chemical Co., the Solvay Process Co., the Semet-Solvay Co., and the General Chemical Co.

Here is the financial statement of this suffering, this doomed corporation:

The income account covered the first six months of 1920, during which time the net income before depreciation and taxes was \$22,381,649. After reserve and taxes the net income available for dividends was \$12,825,241. Total assets on December 31, 1919, amounted to \$223,941,660, and current assets, \$94,175,790. Current liabilities on the same date amounted to \$29,161,845.

Does this showing resemble that of a tottering and practically doomed enterprise?

The proportion of outstanding stocks of the consolidating companies is given:

Barrett Co., preferred, 93.78 per cent; common, 95.14 per cent.
National Aniline Co., preferred, 90.35 per cent; common, 98.18 per cent.

Solvay Process Co., 99.82 per cent.

Semet-Solvay Co., 97.01 per cent.

General Chemical Co., preferred, 92.71 per cent; common, 95.83 per cent.

And these, Mr. President, have followed the usual course. This capitalization has been used as the basis for an added capitalization, a watered capitalization, a fictitious capitalization; and when it comes to die because of the obstructive tactics of two Senators it will have the consolation that in its career it never missed a single opportunity offered by the practices of this commercial world for the dropsical increase of a capital stock as the basis of prices for its products to the consumers of this country.

Of the other companies involved in the merger, the National Aniline & Chemical Co., organized in 1917, represents an amalgamation of a large number of other interests. It has capital stock, authorized and outstanding, of 395,900 shares common stock of no par value, but of the stated value of \$5 per share,

and \$23,000,000 7 per cent cumulative preferred. A large part of the common stock is owned by the General Chemical Co., and so forth.

The Solvay Process Co.'s authorized capitalization is \$36,000,000; outstanding, \$22,500,000.

The Somet-Solvay Co., authorized, \$20,000,000; outstanding, \$16,000,000.

The General Chemical Co., authorized \$20,000,000 common and \$20,000,000 6 per cent cumulative preferred. Outstanding May 15, 1920, \$19,000,000 common, \$16,000,000 preferred, par of \$100.

Mr. President, I have said sufficient for my purpose. I have shown facts and figures supplied by some of these institutions themselves. The claim that this bill is essential to their continued existence is utterly and incredibly false. It can have but one purpose—to force the hand of this Congress during its short session by the imposition of a cloture upon the Senate, to the end that the monopoly shall be made absolutely complete and, of course, upon the unselfish and patriotic plea that it is essential as a war industry to the protection of the Republic in the event hostilities shall again occur between this and some other nation.

Let me now refer for a moment to some figures showing our imports and exports of dyestuffs. I read from the same journal.

For the month of September our domestic exports to all countries of aniline dyes—I will not refer to the dyes which are not produced from coal-tar derivatives—were \$2,299,516. Those are the figures of our exports. Our imports of alizarin dyes amounted to \$3,054; colors or dyes not elsewhere specified, \$314,659. This is the dyestuff import trade that is "overwhelming" the American industry. At that rate, Mr. President, the total annual imports will not exceed \$2,000,000 or \$2,500,000. But here is something equally assuring in this journal entitled:

United States foreign trade for 1919 and 1920 in finished coal-tar colors and indigo. (Prepared by the Division of Statistics, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.)

From this it appears that our imports of dyes in 1919, including all sorts of dyes, totaled \$3,169,276.

Coming to the growth of exports, on page 197, we have this information: First, that Switzerland is now the chief source of coal-tar colors and dyes and of synthetic indigo imported into the United States in the calendar years 1918 and 1919.

Exports of aniline dyes—

Exports, mind you—

amounted to \$10,183,948 in the fiscal year 1919, but increased to \$17,130,397 in 1920, a gain of 68 per cent in the last year.

The high tide of German importation of dyes to this country scarcely exceeded \$15,000,000 per annum. This industry, this American industry, controls very largely the export trade in dyes. It is so powerful in its activities and so prosperous at present—and I am glad of it—that the only need for foreign dyes manifested in our trade reports is embodied in the figures, less than two and a quarter millions a year; and, of course, constituting dyes which do not enter into competition with domestic dyes and which the American trade must have, else the War Trade Board, which sits clothed with power and majesty just below the War, State, and Navy Department Building, issues its permits, according to its own discretion, or refuses them, which is more likely the case, for the importation of dyes which are absolutely needed, which up to this time have not been manufactured here.

But let us proceed:

With the return to peace it is evident that whatever the demand for dyes made in Germany may be, that country will never regain its lost supremacy in the world trade in dyestuffs.

Mr. REED. Is that an editorial?

Mr. THOMAS. This is the report of the United States foreign trade for 1919 and 1920 in finished coal-tar colors and indigo, prepared by the Division of Statistics, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, but published in a periodical which is devoted to the passage of this bill.

I continue reading:

The United States was first to establish a domestic industry sufficient to meet the demands of the home market. This was done on private initiative and capital.

That is the way it ought to have been done.

The British Government has established a definite policy, backing it financially, to develop this industry and maintain it so that England will not again be dependent on outside sources for its colors and dyes. Although the British production is constantly increasing, it has not been able to overtake the increasing demand. A recent estimate gives the total output as equal to about 80 per cent of the dyes actually consumed in the United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom seems to be doing pretty well.

France, Italy, and Japan are producing some dyestuffs, but due to lack of raw materials and to other difficulties incident to establishing the manufacture these countries can not yet supply their own textile factories with the quantity and variety of colors needed. Germany,

it is now conceded, will not be the strenuous competitor she was formerly in the foreign trade. Switzerland is the only country, other than the United States, now making aniline colors sufficient to meet its own requirements and to export on a large scale, and the Swiss are dependent on other countries for the raw materials.

Let me say here that the United States is exporting some coal-tar intermediates, derived from American coal, to Germany, because they are needed by the German chemical industries and can not be secured from their domestic supply.

This article continues:

The United States has abundant coal to supply the raw materials for making aniline dyes. Private capital has been supplied as fast as it could be utilized in establishing scores of factories and in training skilled operatives and chemists for actual and experimental work on a large scale. There has been an increasing tendency since 1916 to centralize or consolidate domestic enterprises, in order to cut overhead expense, utilize all by-products, and reduce the price of finished dyes. This has not only increased production but has developed a foreign trade, as shown by the wide distribution of American aniline dyes exported in the calendar years 1918 and 1919. The value of the exports for these years is shown in the table on the following page.

Mr. President, I ask leave to print as a part of my remarks the article from which I have just read, and the title of which I have given. It covers only two pages of this document; and also the report I read concerning the Barrett Co.

There being no objection, the matter referred to was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

UNITED STATES FOREIGN TRADE FOR 1919 AND 1920 IN FINISHED COAL-TAR COLORS AND INDIGO.

[Prepared by the Division of Statistics, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.]

The domestic coal-tar color industry, reborn of the war, continues to thrive in times of peace as evidenced by a comparison of the foreign trade during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920, with that of 1919.

Imports of alizarin and alizarin dyes increased from 11,797 pounds, valued at \$13,286 in 1919, to 257,841 pounds, worth \$103,236 in 1920. Receipts of other finished coal-tar colors and dyes rose from 1,934,021 pounds, valued at \$2,753,116, to 2,785,904 pounds at \$3,775,216, or an increase of 44 per cent in the quantity and 37 per cent in value during the same period.

SWITZERLAND THE CHIEF SOURCE OF COAL-TAR COLORS—INDIGO TRADE.

Switzerland has the place formerly held by Germany as the leading source of the coal-tar colors imported into the United States, the receipts rising from 1,243,135 pounds, valued at \$2,047,043 in 1919, to 1,454,811 pounds, worth \$2,500,933 in 1920, followed by imports from the United Kingdom of 616,720 pounds, invoiced at \$609,238 in 1919, and 558,166 pounds at \$567,258 in 1920, with smaller amounts from Germany and other countries during the same year.

Imports of natural indigo declined from 996,069 pounds, worth \$1,242,885 in 1919, to 126,539 pounds, valued at \$165,332 in 1920; but the imports of synthetic indigo increased approximately 70 per cent in quantity and value, from 594,107 pounds, invoiced at \$308,582 in 1919, to 1,014,100 pounds, valued at \$530,285, in the year just ended. This was to be expected, as synthetic indigo is superior commercially to the vegetable product, the color being more even, and the cost of production prior to the war less than that of the natural indigo. As the bulk of the laboratory product was made in Germany, when imports were cut off by the war the trade in the natural product revived, but apparently will not be able to hold its place under peace conditions in competition with the synthetic indigo, more especially as the latter is now being produced on a commercial scale, in the United States and countries other than Germany.

The fiscal year figures are more readily comparable in the following tabular form:

Articles, and countries from which imported.	1919		1920	
	Pounds.	Value.	Pounds.	Value.
Alizarin and alizarin dyes.....	11,797	\$13,286	257,841	\$103,236
Colors or dyes, n. e. s.	1,934,021	2,753,116	2,785,904	3,775,216
Imported from—				
Germany.....	18,518	15,644	430,197	334,955
Switzerland.....	1,243,135	2,047,043	1,454,811	2,500,933
United Kingdom.....	616,720	609,238	558,166	567,258
Other countries.....	55,648	81,191	342,730	372,070
Indigo:				
Natural.....	996,069	1,242,885	126,539	165,332
Synthetic.....	594,107	308,582	1,014,100	530,285

IMPORTS BY COUNTRIES FOR 1918 AND 1919.

As the statistical tables have been changed from fiscal to calendar years, the latest figures available showing the imports of coal-tar colors and of indigo into the United States by separate countries, are for the calendar years 1918 and 1919. Figures for these years are as follows:

Articles and countries.	1918		1919	
	Pounds.	Value.	Pounds.	Value.
Alizarin and alizarin dyes:				
France.....	18	\$250
Switzerland.....	440	\$572	220	2,517
United Kingdom—England.....	4,310	3,739	23,417	21,084
Canada.....	1	2	215	414
China.....	500	7,629	5	15
Japan.....	15,141	58,948
Total.....	20,392	70,890	23,875	24,280

Articles and countries.	1918		1919	
	Pounds.	Value.	Pounds.	Value.
Colors or dyes n. e. s.:				
Austria-Hungary.....			1,775	\$1,725
Belgium.....			36,968	63,119
France.....		\$76,606	11,746	20,833
Germany.....			143,031	83,565
Netherlands.....			7,895	7,412
Norway.....			97,519	120,160
Spain.....			11,543	
Switzerland.....		1,762,688	1,284,199	2,176,463
United Kingdom—				
England.....		561,699	609,703	664,545
Scotland.....		345	1,000	859
Canada.....		32,424	17,869	18,765
Cuba.....		322		
China.....		8,790		
British India.....		14,020		
Japan.....		1,102	4,192	11,805
Total.....		2,469,439	2,215,397	3,169,276
Indigo:				
Natural—				
Switzerland.....	25,762	38,719	15,796	29,857
United Kingdom—Eng-				
land.....	264,975	463,510	10,584	16,647
Costa Rica.....			23,270	22,900
Honduras.....	1,674	2,386	10,609	11,336
Nicaragua.....	2,967	4,334	150	240
Panama.....			30	41
Salvador.....	234,452	299,554	69,940	67,262
Chile.....	1,964	2,455		
British India.....	1,138,176	1,284,434	99,397	99,901
British Straits Settle-				
ments.....	16,560	13,248		
Other British East Indies.	15,212	16,640		
Dutch East Indies.....	45,332	69,087		
Russia in Asia.....			6,498	11,931
Total.....	1,747,074	2,194,367	227,474	260,115
Synthetic—				
France.....			87,570	36,807
Switzerland.....	770,212	410,421	726,440	388,067
United Kingdom—Eng-				
land.....	6,817	5,587	1,468	1,970
Salvador.....			8,400	5,729
Total.....	777,029	416,008	823,878	432,373

In the calendar year 1919, of a total of 23,875 pounds of imported alizarin and alizarin dyes, 23,417 pounds came from England, the first of the allied countries to produce them on a commercial scale. The production, however, has at no time since 1914 been equal to the world-wide demand. Experimental work in American laboratories has resulted in a recent announcement by one of the largest factories that it is in a position to begin marketing a number of alizarin colors.

SWISS DYES AND SYNTHETIC INDIGO—SOURCES OF NATURAL INDIGO.

Switzerland, though hampered by a lack of intermediates and other raw materials, has been the chief source of coal-tar colors and dyes and of synthetic indigo imported into the United States in the calendar years 1918 and 1919. Swiss colors imported in 1918 were valued at \$1,762,688, in contrast of \$561,699 from England, out of a total of \$2,469,439 from all countries; and \$2,176,463 in 1919, against \$664,545 from England, out of a total of \$3,169,276.

The natural indigo is grown chiefly in China, British India, and the East Indies. The imports shown from England and Switzerland are derived from the Orient. In 1918 the total receipts of this vegetable color amounted to 1,747,074 pounds, valued at \$2,194,367, of which 1,138,176 pounds, valued at \$1,284,434, came from British India; 264,975 pounds, at \$463,510, from England; 234,542 pounds, at \$299,554, from Salvador; and less amounts from other countries. In 1919 total imports dropped to 227,474 pounds, worth \$260,115, the bulk of it coming from British India and Salvador. Natural indigo can be readily grown in the subtropical countries of the Western Hemisphere, but, owing to the higher cost of labor, it can not compete commercially with that from the Orient. Prior to the revolution it was produced on a somewhat extensive scale in the Carolinas.

GROWTH IN EXPORTS OF COAL-TAR DYES.

Exports of aniline dyes amounted to \$10,183,948 in the fiscal year 1919, but increased to \$17,130,397 in 1920, a gain of 68 per cent in the last year.

With the return to peace it is evident that whatever the demand for dyes made in Germany may be, that country will never regain its lost supremacy in the world trade in dyestuffs. The United States was first to establish a domestic industry sufficient to meet the demands of the home market. This was done on private initiative and capital. The British Government has established a definite policy, backing it financially, to develop this industry and maintain it so that England will not again be dependent on outside sources for its colors and dyes. Although the British production is constantly increasing, it has not been able to overtake the increasing demand. A recent estimate gives the total output as equal to about 80 per cent of the dyes actually consumed in the United Kingdom. France, Italy, and Japan are producing some dyestuffs, but due to lack of raw materials and to other difficulties incident to establishing the manufacture, these countries can not yet supply their own textile factories with the quantity and variety of colors needed. Germany, it is now conceded, will not be the strenuous competitor she was formerly in the foreign trade. Switzerland is the only country, other than the United States, now making aniline colors sufficient to meet its own requirements and to export on a large scale, and the Swiss are dependent on other countries for the raw materials.

The United States has abundant coal to supply the raw materials for making aniline dyes. Private capital has been supplied as fast as it could be utilized in establishing scores of factories and in training

skilled operatives and chemists for actual and experimental work on a large scale. There has been an increasing tendency since 1916 to centralize or consolidate the domestic enterprises, in order to cut overhead expense, utilize all by-products, and reduce the price of finished dyes. This has not only increased production, but has developed the foreign trade, as shown by the wide distribution of American aniline dyes exported in the calendar years 1918 and 1919. The value of the exports for these years is shown in the table which follows.

NEW STATISTICAL CLASSIFICATION OF FINISHED DYESTUFFS.

Soon after the war cut off the supply of imported dyestuffs, on which so many American industries were dependent, it was found that no detailed figures showing the variety and quantity of each color needed were available, as the statistical classification of imports included dyes and colors in a group for which total value only was given. In order to develop a domestic industry the urgent call for adequate statistical information led the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce to collect and compile in detail from the original import declarations for the fiscal year 1914 the desired data, which were published in Special Agents Series No. 121, Artificial Dyestuffs Used in the United States.

Since then there has been a constantly increasing demand for an expanded classification of the official export and import schedules to make available more specific data in relation to our foreign trade in coal-tar colors. After conferences with experts and others interested in the dye manufacture and trade a revision of these schedules has been made, to be effective after January 1, 1921. The new import classification is as follows:

Alizarin and derivatives:

Alizarin—

Natural.

Synthetic.

Colors or color lakes obtained, derived, or manufactured from alizarin.

Dyes obtained, derived, or manufactured from alizarin.

Anthracene and carbazole derivatives:

Colors or lakes obtained, derived, or manufactured from anthracene or carbazole.

Dyes obtained, derived, or manufactured from anthracene or carbazole.

Other color lakes.

All other colors, dyes, or stains, whether soluble or not in water, color acids, and color bases.

Indigo and indigoids:

Indigo—

Natural.

Synthetic.

Dyes obtained from indigo.

Indigoids, whether or not obtained from indigo.

In exports color lakes will be classed separately.

FAVORABLE MARKETS FOR AMERICAN PRODUCTS.

Aniline dyes were not shown separately in the statistical classification prior to July 1, 1917, and for the six months ended December 30 of that year the exports totaled \$3,502,218. The shipments in 1918 amounted to \$8,629,611 and to \$10,724,071 in 1919. The Orient offers unlimited opportunities for the exploitation of American-made colors, Japan, British India, and China being the heaviest buyers during the past two years. Shipments to Japan declined from \$2,576,801 in 1918 to \$2,151,191 in 1919, but those to British India increased from \$1,604,022 to \$1,562,244, to China from \$549,605 to \$1,609,060, and to Hongkong from \$97,893 to \$228,788, with considerable gains for other Far Eastern countries. Canada affords the best market for dyes in the western world, taking \$836,445 worth of aniline colors in 1918 and \$1,015,334 worth in 1919. Exports to European countries aggregated \$1,401,732 in 1918 and \$1,560,211 in 1919, the principal markets in order of value being Spain, England, Italy, Portugal, and France. Australia took these products to the value of \$85,035 in 1918 and \$130,985 in 1919. Aniline dyes exported to South America were valued at \$1,719,408 in 1918 and at \$1,631,872 in 1919, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Peru being the leading countries of destination.

The world-wide shortage of dyestuffs and the growing demand for both quantity and variety of such materials offer every opportunity to extend the foreign market for American colors.

Articles and countries.	1918	1919
Belgium.....		\$90
Denmark.....		6,334
Finland.....		13,565
France.....	\$6,345	127,039
Germany.....		150
Greece.....	22,139	51,539
Iceland and Faroe Islands.....		870
Italy.....	274,903	269,130
Malta, Goro, etc.....		700
Netherlands.....		26,244
Norway.....		13,663
Portugal.....	176,769	70,296
Russia in Europe.....		8,570
Spain.....	518,895	635,383
Sweden.....		22,694
Switzerland.....	22,500	193
United Kingdom:		
England.....	378,831	413,700
Ireland.....	1,350	
Bermuda.....		33
British Honduras.....	23	
Canada.....	836,445	1,015,334
Costa Rica.....	125	974
Guatemala.....	316	1,037
Honduras.....		200
Nicaragua.....	1,841	1,526
Panama.....	1,415	328
Salvador.....	1,920	1,856
Mexico.....	289,327	467,806
Newfoundland and Labrador.....		768
Barbados.....	38	375
Jamaica.....	20	547
Trinidad and Tobago.....	116	2,961
Cuba.....	21,622	28,834
Dominican Republic.....	209	1,642

Articles and countries.	1918	1919
utch West Indies.....	\$1,440	\$3
Haiti.....	2	156
Argentina.....	458,419	468,459
Bolivia.....	14,268	25,444
Brazil.....	953,407	773,449
Chile.....	103,778	124,242
Colombia.....	16,070	35,247
Ecuador.....	18,064	31,530
Dutch Guiana.....		32
Peru.....	70,463	136,813
Uruguay.....	31,947	42,747
Venezuela.....	52,992	13,909
China.....	549,605	1,609,060
Kwantung, leased territory.....		1,948
Chosen.....		532
British India.....	1,004,022	1,562,244
British Straits Settlements.....	1,347	7,446
Other British East Indies.....		81
Dutch East Indies.....	19,199	137,265
French East Indies.....		48,168
Hongkong.....	97,393	223,788
Japan.....	2,576,801	2,151,191
Russia in Asia.....		1,471
Siam.....		9,169
Turkey in Asia.....		650
Australia.....	85,035	139,985
New Zealand.....	3,549	5,074
Other British Oceania.....	220	
French Oceania.....	12	109
Philippine Islands.....	11,694	41,796
British West Africa.....		3,088
British South Africa.....	2,941	33,153
Canary Islands.....		132
Egypt.....		6,197
French Africa.....	92	2,037
Morocco.....	960	959
Total.....	8,629,611	10,724,071

MEMORANDUM ON THE BARRETT CO. (OF NEW JERSEY), (DECEMBER 22, 1920).

The company was incorporated February 6, 1903, in New Jersey, under perpetual charter, as the American Coal Products Co.; name changed to The Barrett Co. on February 1, 1916.

General office, 17 Battery Place, New York.
Plants number about 40 in all, the principal ones being located at New York, St. Louis, Detroit, Nashville, New Orleans, Johnstown (Pa.), Latrobe, Chicago, Cleveland, Birmingham, Salt Lake City, Youngstown, Bethlehem, Elizabeth, Boston, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Peoria, Milwaukee, Bangor, Toledo, Columbus, Buffalo, Baltimore, Washington, and Richmond.

Products include roofing and building papers of all kinds, roofing and paving pitch, tarria, carbolic acid, benzol, naphtha, and all coal-tar products.

Capital stock: Authorized, \$25,000,000 common and \$12,500,000 of 7 per cent cumulative preferred; outstanding as of December 31, 1919, \$16,443,100 common and \$7,811,400 preferred; par, \$100.

Officers: Eversley Childs, chairman; W. H. Childs, president; T. M. Rianhard, vice president and general manager; W. N. McIlvray; R. P. Perry, and John C. Runkle, vice presidents; E. J. Steer, secretary and treasurer; and F. M. Stearns, assistant secretary and assistant treasurer.

The original corporation (the American Coal Products Co.) and the Barrett Manufacturing Co. and subsidiaries, were charged with violation of the Sherman antitrust law on March 3, 1913, and on the following day a decree was entered in the Federal district court under which the National Coal Tar Co., Union Coal Tar Chemical Co., W. H. Rankin Co., and New York Coal Tar Chemical Co., all subsidiaries of the Barrett Co., were ordered dissolved and their charters surrendered; the Barrett Co. was also required to eliminate certain restrictive conditions in some of its contracts for tar and further required to operate the following of its active subsidiaries as departments: Warren Chemical & Manufacturing Co., Commonwealth Roofing Co., Warren-Ehret & Co., Eastern Granite Roofing Co., United Roofing & Manufacturing Co. The Barrett Manufacturing Co. owned 70 per cent of the stock of the H. F. Watson Co. of Erie, Pa., and under the court's decree was required to dispose of 25 per cent of the stock of this company.

The Barrett Co. of New Jersey was formerly principally a holding company, conducting its operations through subsidiary companies, of which the Barrett Co. of West Virginia was the principal one. However, on September 16, 1918, the subsidiary companies were consolidated and the assets of the West Virginia company transferred to the Barrett Co. of New Jersey. (Moody's Manual of Railroads and Corporation Securities, 1920, p. 2284.) It is said to own a controlling interest in the Société Anonyme de Matériaux pour Toitures et Routes, and to be associated with Paix & Co. in building a new plant at Courchelette, in northeastern France. (Drug and Chemical Markets, July 7, 1920, p. 12.)

The Barrett Co. is one of five large corporations which have consolidated to form the Allied Chemical and Dye Corporation. The president of the Barrett Co. announced in The Barrett Trail for October that "all of the merging companies will be run as independent entities. So that as far as the Barrett Co. is concerned, there is contemplated no change of any kind in its manner of conducting its business or in its personnel."

The Allied Chemical and Dye Corporation made a statement during the last week in September, 1920, giving the assets, liabilities, and income of the consolidated companies. The Barrett Co., National Aniline & Chemical Co., the Solvay Process Co., the Semet-Solvay Co., and the General Chemical Co. The income account covered the first six months of 1920, during which time the net income, before depreciation and taxes, was \$22,381,643. After reserve and taxes the net income available for dividends was \$12,825,241. Total assets on December 31, 1919, amounted to \$223,941,660 and current assets \$94,175,790. Current liabilities on the same date amounted to \$29,161,845. Among assets, patents, processes, formulae, and good will were valued at \$21,981,845. The bonded indebtedness was \$9,493,074. The Guaranty Trust Co. was appointed depository for the consolidation. (Drug and Chemical Markets, Sept. 29, 1920.)

A further statement was made during the first week of December, 1920, by the committee in charge of the consolidation, to the effect that the consolidation has become operative and the plan will be carried into effect as of January 1, 1921. Temporary stock certificates for the new stock, both preferred and common, will be ready for distribution about January 6. The proportion of outstanding stocks of the consolidating companies now under control of the committee is as follows: Barrett Co. preferred, 93.78 per cent, and common, 95.14 per cent; National Aniline and Chemical preferred, 90.35 per cent, and common, 98.18 per cent; Solvay Process, 99.82 per cent; Semet-Solvay, 97.01 per cent; General Chemical preferred, 92.71 per cent, and common, 95.83 per cent. (Drug and Chemical Markets, Dec. 8, 1920, p. 1225.)

Of the other companies involved in the merger: The National Aniline & Chemical Co., Inc., organized in 1917, represents an amalgamation of a number of interests engaged in the manufacture of aniline oil and salts, coal tar, colors, intermediates, and dyestuffs. The company was formed for the purpose of unifying and coordinating the dyestuffs industry, and its various factories cover the business process of manufacture from the raw material to the finished products. Capital stock: Authorized and outstanding, 395,900 shares common, of no par value, but of the "stated" value of \$5 per share, and \$23,524,700 7 per cent cumulative preferred, par \$100. A large part of the common stock is owned by the General Chemical Co., the Barrett Co., and the Semet-Solvay Co. (Moody's Manual, 1920, p. 2782.)

The Solvay Process Co. was incorporated in 1881 to manufacture soda and its by-products. It is engaged in the manufacture of alkali and its by-products, and through its allied companies, the Semet-Solvay Co. and Solvay Collieries Co., is also engaged in the operation of by-product coke plants. Capital stock: Authorized, \$36,000,000; outstanding, \$22,500,000; par \$100. (Moody's Manual, 1920, p. 1625.)

The Semet-Solvay Co., incorporated in 1916, manufactures iron, steel, coke, copper, lumber, gas acids, explosives, chemicals, etc., and does construction work. Capital stock: Authorized, \$20,000,000; outstanding, \$16,978,886; par \$100. (Moody's Manual, 1920, p. 1573.)

The General Chemical Co., organized in 1899, is a consolidation of a number of companies engaged in the manufacture of heavy chemicals, sulphuric acid, grocery specialties, and baking powder. It controls several corporations through stock ownership and has a large interest in the National Aniline & Chemical Co. (Inc.). Capital stock: Authorized, \$20,000,000 common and \$20,000,000 6 per cent cumulative preferred; outstanding May 15, 1920, \$19,822,900 common and \$16,333,300 preferred; par \$100. (Moody's Manual, 1920, p. 646.)

Mr. THOMAS. Now, Mr. President, just another word: There is no doubt of the power of the Senate to take up this measure and apply the cloture rule. I am not complaining. I have been fighting for a cloture rule ever since I have been here, and I am not complaining. I have simply made use of machinery I have found here which I have not been able thus far to remove, and have utilized for the performance of a duty to myself, to the Congress, and to the people of the United States. With one exception I am opposed to embargoes absolutely, although I shall have some amendments to the embargo bill which passed the House yesterday when it comes over. I am in favor of a temporary embargo on the indiscriminate immigration now flooding this country with hundreds of thousands of immigrants per month, most of them undesirable.

If we really want to stem the tide of depressing conditions, and particularly to aid those American workmen who are to-day out of employment, we should prohibit immigration into the United States for the next year. They are not only taking the bread out of the mouths of and competing with the workmen of this country still engaged in gainful pursuits, but they are threatening the very fabric of our civilization. Of course, I do not mean this statement to apply to all those who are coming, nor to the many good naturalized citizens we have in this country. But when I reflect that the great steamship companies, both of the United States and of the Old World, in their eagerness and greed for gain, are rounding up and crowding immigrants of all nationalities into every nook and corner of every steamship plying between the two continents, and dumping them upon our shores at the rate of millions per annum; when I further reflect that the Commissioner of Immigration warns us that 12,000,000 of these people, no matter how disreputable, will come as soon as they can secure accommodations, I say, Mr. President, that if we are to embargo anything, we should begin there, and I propose to give the Senate an opportunity to vote upon that sort of an embargo when the bill which has just passed the House comes before this body for consideration.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. LODGE presented a memorial of the Amos Lodge, No. 27, I. O. B. B., of Boston, Mass., remonstrating against the immigration of undesirable aliens, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

Mr. NELSON presented a petition of the city council of Duluth, Minn., praying for the enactment of legislation for governmental supervision of the coal industry through the Interstate Commerce Commission, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

He also presented a petition of the board of directors, the St. Paul (Minn.) Association, of St. Paul, Minn., favoring the so-called "truth in fabric" bill, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CAPPER presented a petition of the Franklin County Wool Growers' Association, of Ottawa, Kans., favoring the Capper-French "truth in fabric" bill, also praying for the enactment of legislation placing a tariff on wool, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Farmers' Union, of Flush, Kans., praying for the passage of the Capper antigrain-gambling measure, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. President, I present resolutions passed by a number of farm organizations meeting in St. Louis on the 16th day of this month, protesting against the Senate amendment to the Capper bill and also protesting against the Poin-dexter antistrike bill. I ask unanimous consent that these resolutions may be printed in the Record.

Mr. SMOOT. Will not the Senator let the resolutions be referred to the proper committee and have them noted in the Record?

Mr. LENROOT. I would, except that one of the bills is on the calendar and the other has passed, so that neither is before a committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to printing them in the Record?

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the Record, as follows:

NATIONAL BOARD OF FARM ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D. C., December 20, 1920.

To the MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Representatives of farmers' cooperative self-help organizations from 17 States, meeting in St. Louis, Mo., December 16, 17, and 18, unanimously protested the amended form of the Capper-Volstead bill as adopted by the Senate December 15. The conference also unanimously voiced its opposition to the Poin-dexter antistrike bill passed by the Senate last Thursday.

Copies of telegrams on the Capper-Volstead and antistrike measures are included below.

Respectfully, yours,

CHAS. A. LYMAN, Secretary.

[Copy of telegram.]

ST. LOUIS, Mo., December 16, 1920.

Senator KNUTE NELSON,
Chairman Judiciary Committee, Washington, D. C.:

Farmers meeting here this week, representing several billion dollars' annual cooperative business, earnestly protest amended form Capper-Volstead bill as adopted by Senate yesterday. As lawyer of high standing, do you not agree with us that proviso added by your committee to Volstead bill as passed by House practically nullifies measure? We ask that bill be changed in conference to conform to Volstead bill. Please answer.

(Signed) CHAS. S. BARRETT, Chairman.

[Copy of telegram.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 17, 1920.

CHARLES S. BARRETT,
St. Louis, Mo.:

Telegram received. Will consider the matter referred to in conference.

(Signed) KNUTE NELSON.

POINDESTER ANTISTRIKE BILL.

We are opposed to the Poin-dexter antistrike bill adopted by the United States Senate on Thursday.

We deprecate strikes and realize their harmful immediate effects, yet we realize that there are circumstances which under existing conditions make united protest the only means for the self-preservation of the workers.

We believe the bill will cause far greater harm than good, and will cause strikes rather than prevent them. Legislation along similar lines enacted in other lands has been abandoned or has become a dead letter. Public opinion will not sustain them.

We say that in these unsettled times Congress should seek to remove the cause of strikes rather than to make strikes a felony. Our position on the strike question is in line with the position taken by various members of the General Board of Farm Organizations, who last February joined in the publicly declared statement that "the right to cease work, individually or collectively, for adequate reasons is unassailable."

We believe that the propaganda upon the strike question circulated within the past few months, especially among farmers, has been entirely misleading, and that the views as expressed above will be agreed to by an overwhelming majority of American farmers when the question is thoroughly analyzed.

We regret that such prominence has been given in the hearings to the opinions of certain persons claiming to express the view of agricultural organizations, when, in reality, their connection, if any, with such organization is nominal, to say the least.

We endorse the statement made by the secretary of the National Board of Farm Organizations at the hearing on the Poin-dexter antistrike bill last spring, who, concluding his protest, said:

"Provide some certain means of giving justice to all legitimate demands whether of farmers or labor; strike some real blows at excess profits of the great profiteering corporations; put some stability into the public's investment in Liberty bonds; enact some constructive legislation at this session of Congress that will give the people confidence that they have a government that is as willing to protect human lives and happiness as it is to protect dollars—then it will be time enough to take up the question of antistrike legislation, and not till then."

We ask the secretary of the conference to send copies of this resolution to every Member of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives, with the request to defeat by influence and vote this bill or similar measures.

Mr. MYERS presented a petition of the Helena Commercial Club, of Helena, Mont., favoring an embargo on wool and agricultural products, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Interstate Conference for the Investigation of Vivisection, praying for the enactment of legislation to regulate, in the District of Columbia and Territories of the United States, the practice of vivisection of animals, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. Mr. President, I present to the Senate a letter from the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Macon, Ga., and also resolutions passed by the Macon Wholesale Grocers, in which they call attention to the increase of rates being made by certain railroads for transportation of freight, and complain that those rates go into effect now without waiting for approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission. In presenting the matter, I merely wish to say that the Senate placed upon the railroad bill a provision that increases should not go into effect except after approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and it was lost in conference.

I ask that the resolutions may be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. SMOOT. I shall have to object to printing the resolutions in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is made. They will be noted in the Record and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I do not wish especially to have them printed in the Record, and I had not intended to ask that they be printed in the Record, but the Senator just now consented to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] having some resolutions printed in the Record, and therefore I thought I ought to ask that these be printed.

Mr. SMOOT. I want to say frankly that one of the bills referred to in the resolutions presented by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] had passed the Senate and the other is on the calendar.

Mr. LENROOT. I would not have made the request had the matter been pending before any committee.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. This matter is not pending before any committee, and I really thought that the facts set out in the resolutions, which are brief, might well be printed in the Record in order that they might be seen.

Mr. SMOOT. I think the Senator made just as clear a statement of it as is possible.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I also present a resolution adopted by Carpenters' Local Union, No. 1927, of Atlanta, Ga., objecting to oriental immigration, which I move be referred to the Committee on Immigration.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. TOWNSEND presented a resolution of the Chamber of Commerce, Lansing, Mich.; a resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of Traverse, Mich.; a resolution of the Chamber of Commerce, Ann Arbor, Mich.; and a resolution of the Western Michigan Development Bureau, of Glen Haven, Mich., praying that the people of the State of Michigan be afforded opportunity to secure legislation enabling the State to purchase and preserve Camp Custer as a State property, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a resolution of the Grand Rapids Real Estate Board, Grand Rapids, Mich., urging immediate passage by Congress of an amendment to the Federal tax laws, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Travelers' Protective Association of America, St. Louis, Mo., asking for more stringent immigration laws, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Travelers' Protective Association of America, St. Louis, Mo., asking for a comprehensive plan by Congress for the improvement of harbors and inland waterways, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a resolution of the Mason County Farm Bureau, Scottsville, Mich., asking an import duty on all foreign-grown beans, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Joint Association of Postal Employees of Staten Island, N. Y., asking an increase in the salaries of post-office employees, which was referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

He also presented a resolution adopted by the Travelers' Protective Association of America, St. Louis, Mo., asking for an amendment to the income tax law, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also (for Mr. NEWBERRY) presented a memorial from radio station 8-AB, Port Huron, Mich., and also a memorial from the Detroit radio station, Detroit, Mich., remonstrating against legislation proposing to regulate amateur wireless, which were referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

He also (for Mr. NEWBERRY) presented a memorial from the Highland Park Woman's Club, Highland Park, Mich., and also a petition from members of the University Club, Harbor Springs, Mich., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the protection of maternity and infancy, which were laid on the table.

He also (for Mr. NEWBERRY) presented a memorial from the Twentieth Century Club, Detroit, Mich., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation commercializing the national parks, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also (for Mr. NEWBERRY) presented a resolution adopted by the Grand Rapids Real Estate Board, Grand Rapids, Mich., praying for the enactment of legislation to amend the Federal tax laws, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. GRONNA presented a petition of sachems, chiefs, and warriors of the Onondaga Nation and of the Tonawanda Band of the Seneca Nation of Indians in the State of New York, praying for an amendment of House bill No. 288, exempting them from its provisions, which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

He also presented a resolution of the members of the commission of the city of Fargo, N. Dak., praying for the passage of a bill relative to the mining, marketing, and fixing of the prices of coal, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I have received and I present resolutions from a great number of American Legion posts in my State. As they are all very much in the same form, I will ask to have only one of them printed. It is very brief. Then I will ask to have them all noted in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on Finance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. SMOOT. I must object to having them printed. I would like to have them noted in the RECORD.

Mr. GRONNA. I shall read one of them. It is very brief. I realize that the Senator from Utah may take me off the floor if he chooses.

Mr. SMOOT. I shall not object to the reading after the morning business is closed.

Mr. GRONNA. The Senator may object now, if he cares to do so.

Mr. SMOOT. I object at this time.

Mr. GRONNA. Then, Mr. President, I shall avail myself of an opportunity to take time this afternoon to read as many of them as I may see fit.

Mr. KENDRICK. I present on behalf of my colleague the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WARREN], who is absent on official business, a telegram received from Hon. W. A. Drake, of Fort Collins, Colo., asking for immediate legislation upon meat and meat products.

Also a letter from Mr. G. L. Chesney, of Evanston, Wyo., asking for an embargo on wool, and the immediate enactment of tariff legislation on the same product.

I move that the two communications be referred to the Committee on Finance.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. KENDRICK. I also present a resolution adopted by the Sheridan Commercial Club, of Sheridan, Wyo., protesting against commercializing the waters of the national parks, which I ask may lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will be so ordered.

AMENDMENT OF PORTO RICAN ACT.

Mr. POINDEXTER. From the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico I report back favorably without amendment the bill (H. R. 11769) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1917. I ask that the report of the House committee (Rept. No. 674), which accompanies the bill, be printed as the report of the Senate committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FARM LOAN BONDS.

Mr. McLEAN. From the Committee on Banking and Currency I report back favorably without amendment the bill (S. 4664) to amend the first paragraph of section 20 of the act of Congress approved July 17, 1916, known as the Federal farm loan act, as amended by the act of Congress approved April 20, 1920.

The Federal Farm Loan Board wants to issue a new series of bonds, and under the law as it is to-day the duration of

those bonds is limited to five years, whereas the mortgages or farm loans back of the bonds run for a much longer period, and there would seem to be every reason why the board should be permitted to issue a 10-year bond. The bonds would be more desirable. Your committee were unanimously of the opinion that the resolution should pass, and as the board wishes to print the bonds at once I hope there will be no objection to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I have no objection to the bill. If it can be passed without discussion I shall not object to its consideration now, but it seems to me we ought to dispose of the routine morning business, and then I would have no objection to the bill coming up if it is to be discussed. If there is no discussion—

Mr. McLEAN. I will say to the Senator that if there is any objection—

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have no objection.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the first paragraph of section 20 of the act of Congress approved July 17, 1916, as amended by the act of Congress approved April 20, 1920, be amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 20. That bonds provided for in this act shall be issued in denominations of \$40, \$100, \$500, \$1,000, and such larger denominations as the Federal Farm Loan Board may authorize; they shall run for specified minimum and maximum periods, subject to payment and retirement, at the option of the land bank, at any time after the minimum period specified in the bonds, which shall not be longer than 10 years from the date of their issue. They shall have interest coupons attached, payable semiannually, and shall be issued in series of not less than \$50,000, the amount and terms to be fixed by the Federal Farm Loan Board. They shall bear a rate of interest not to exceed 5 per cent per annum."

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

FORCED SALE OF BONDS.

Mr. McLEAN. From the Committee on Banking and Currency I report back favorably without amendment the bill (S. 4683) to amend section 11 (m) of the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts approved September 7, 1916, and March 3, 1919, and I ask for its immediate consideration.

I explained the bill to the Senate on Monday last. Under the proviso in section 11 of the Federal reserve act as it is to-day all notes, drafts, or bills of exchange discounted for any member bank in excess of the amount permitted under such section must be secured by not less than the like face amount of bonds and notes of the United States issued since April 24, 1917, or certificates of indebtedness of the United States: "Provided further, That the provisions of this subsection shall not be operative after December 31, 1920."

There is something like \$600,000,000 of United States bonds held by the banks that are not fully paid up by the owners, and unless the time is extended for another year the banks will be obliged to call these loans, and the owners will have to force the bonds upon the market. There would seem to be no reason why this time should not be extended. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole, and it was read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 11 (m) of the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts approved September 7, 1916, and March 3, 1919, be further amended by striking out the words "December 31, 1920" at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "December 31, 1921."

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

NEWARK BAY BRIDGE, NEW JERSEY.

Mr. CALDER. From the Committee on Commerce I report back favorably with amendments the bill (S. 4515) reviving, confirming, and renewing the authority of the Central Railroad Co. of New Jersey to construct a bridge across the navigable waters of the Newark Bay, in the State of New Jersey, and I submit a report (No. 673) thereon.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill.

There being no objection, the bill was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The amendments were, on page 1, strike out the title of the bill down to and including the word "construct," and insert "to extend the time for the construction of," and on the same page, on line 3, after the words "That the," strike out the balance of the line, and on page 2, strike out all of lines 1, 2, 3,

4, 5, and 6 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge authorized by act of Congress approved August 8, 1919, to be built by the Central Railroad Co. of New Jersey, across the Newark Bay between the city of Elizabeth and the city of Bayonne, N. J., are hereby extended two and five years, respectively, from the date of approval of this act," so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the times for commencing and completing the construction of a bridge authorized by act of Congress approved August 8, 1919, to be built by the Central Railroad Co. of New Jersey, across the Newark Bay between the city of Elizabeth and the city of Bayonne, N. J., are hereby extended two and five years, respectively, from the date of approval of this act.

SEC. 2. That the right to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby expressly reserved.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The committee reports in favor of striking out the preamble. If there be no objection, the preamble will be stricken out.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to extend the time for the construction of a bridge across the navigable waters of Newark Bay, N. J."

LILLIE K. TITLOW.

Mr. CALDER, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 401, submitted by Mr. LODGE on the 13th instant, reported it favorably without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Lillie K. Titlow, widow of Samuel C. Titlow, late a policeman in the Capitol, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

ZELDA R. FORE.

Mr. CALDER. From the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate I report back favorably with an amendment Senate resolution 402, which was submitted by Mr. LODGE on the 13th instant, and I ask for its present consideration.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the resolution. The amendment was, in line 3, to strike out the word "Velba" and insert the word "Zelda," so as to make the resolution read:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Zelda R. Fore, widow of James L. Fore, late a policeman in the Capitol, under the Sergeant at Arms, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

The amendment was agreed to.

The resolution as amended was agreed to.

MARY NEAL.

Mr. CALDER, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which committee was referred Senate resolution 403, submitted by Mr. LODGE on the 13th instant, reported it favorably without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Mary Neal, widow of Thomas Neal, late a laborer in charge of private passage in the Capitol, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

CAROLINE B. GASTON.

Mr. CALDER, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to which was referred Senate resolution 404, submitted by Mr. LODGE on the 13th instant, reported it favorably without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate to Caroline B. Gaston, widow of Alanson D. Gaston, late a messenger in the Capitol, under the Sergeant at Arms, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. LODGE:

A bill (S. 4697) granting a pension to Mary D. Jenness; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 4698) granting a pension to Emma B. Rutherford (with accompanying paper); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

A bill (S. 4699) to place Albert Hamilton on the retired list of the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND:

A bill (S. 4700) for the relief of Hiram Metcalf; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. McNARY:

A bill (S. 4701) granting a pension to James C. Force; to the Committee on Pensions;

A bill (S. 4702) to provide for the incorporation of certain companies engaged in foreign trade; to the Committee on the Judiciary; and

A bill (S. 4703) to provide for the establishment and maintenance of a forest experiment station in the Pacific Northwest; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 4704) granting a pension to James Reynolds (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FLETCHER:

A bill (S. 4705) to repeal certain provisions of an act entitled "An act to provide revenue, and for other purposes," approved February 24, 1919; to the Committee on Finance; and

A bill (S. 4706) granting an increase of pension to Mertina Andrew (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. KNOX (for Mr. PENROSE):

A bill (S. 4707) to authorize the provision of accommodations for the United States courts in the Federal building at Sunbury, Pa., and to increase the limit of cost for said building accordingly; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

A bill (S. 4708) to provide compensation for seamen injured and the dependents of seamen killed in the course of employment, to create a Federal seamen's insurance fund, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. STERLING:

A bill (S. 4709) to prohibit the prosecution of claims against the United States by former Government employees; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 4710) to authorize the Commissioner of the General Land Office to dispose of certain trust funds in his possession; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. JONES of Washington:

A bill (S. 4711) requiring all ships sailing under a foreign flag and entering the ports of the United States or clearing therefrom to have a permit from the United States Shipping Board; and

A bill (S. 4712) to transfer from the Department of Commerce to the Department of Labor the duty and power to enforce so much of the navigation laws and laws governing the Steamboat-Inspection Service as relate to persons employed in seafaring occupations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 4713) to amend an act entitled "An act to conserve the gold supply of the United States; to permit the settlement in silver of trade balances adverse to the United States; to provide silver for subsidiary coinage and for commercial use; to assist foreign Governments at war with the enemies of the United States; and for the above purposes to stabilize the price and encourage the production of silver," approved April 23, 1918; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

By Mr. LENROOT:

A bill (S. 4714) for the relief of Mrs. Benjamin Gauthier; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 4715) for the relief of Hannah J. Roberts; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CALDER:

A bill (S. 4716) for the relief of Margaret Nolan; and
A bill (S. 4717) for the relief of the owner of the boat *Gay-lord*; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 4718) for the relief of Sam E. Harwell (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. DIAL:

A bill (S. 4719) conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina to hear and determine the claim of the owners of the Danish steamship *Flynderborg* against the United States, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. KING. I think the bill should go to the Judiciary Committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In the other House the bill was referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. KING. It relates to the jurisdiction of the courts.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KENYON:

A bill (S. 4720) to repeal section 7 of the act of October 7, 1917, entitled "An act making appropriation to supply urgent deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. CALDER. I introduce a bill amending the Federal reserve act so as to permit the national banks of the country to lend 50 per cent of their savings deposits on real estate mortgages. I ask that the bill be referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The bill (S. 4721) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, and to amend section 5236 of the Revised Statutes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

A bill (S. 4722) granting an increase of pension to Caleb B. Gaffney (with accompanying paper); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WADSWORTH (for Mr. WARREN):

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 229) authorizing the Secretary of War to investigate the claims of private parties to the Mariaveles Quarry within the limits of a United States military reservation in the Philippine Islands, and to permit the working thereof by the persons entitled thereto, provided military necessities permit; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DIAL:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 230) to use alien property funds until same shall be distributed according to law; to the Committee on Finance.

CHANGE OF PRESIDENTIAL TERM, ETC.

Mr. ASHURST. I introduce a joint resolution, which I ask may be read at length, and after it is read I should like to take about three minutes to make a brief explanation of it.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 228) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution:

"SECTION 1. The terms of the President and Vice President of the United States shall commence on the third Monday in January following the election of presidential and vice presidential electors.

"SEC. 2. The presidential and vice presidential electors, composing the Electoral College, shall assemble in the States by which they are appointed and cast their votes for President and Vice President on the second Monday in December following their appointment, and the vote so cast, duly certified, shall be filed with the President of the Senate before the first Monday in January next thereafter, and the Congress shall meet in joint session on the second Monday in January following and open and count the same: *Provided*, That Congress may alter all the dates fixed in this section, in its discretion.

"SEC. 3. The terms of Senators and Representatives shall commence on the first Monday in January following their election.

"SEC. 4. There shall be held two regular sessions of Congress, convening on the first Monday of January each year.

"SEC. 5. This amendment shall not take effect until after the 4th day of March of the year 1925."

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, no other country permits so long a time to elapse between an election and the installation of the new servants as does the United States. In a democratic republic as soon as possible the will of the people as expressed at the polls should be carried into effect.

Under the present system four months elapse before the new Congress and the new President are inaugurated.

My proposed amendment to the Constitution simply provides that the electors chosen in November and composing the Electoral College shall meet in their respective States on the second Monday in December and there cast their votes; that the new Congress elected in the previous November shall meet on the first Monday in January; that the messengers shall bring the returns from the various States to the President of the Senate and file them before the first Monday in January; that on the second Monday in January the new Congress, sitting in joint session, shall canvass the electoral vote and declare the result; and that on the third Monday in January the President and Vice President shall be inaugurated.

In most of the States the governor is inaugurated in January; the new legislature meets in January. Moreover, under the present system a repudiated House of Representatives

would have the power in certain cases to choose a President. This should be changed.

This is not a new subject. I am not entitled to any credit for novelty of ideas respecting the same. I have simply reintroduced a joint resolution which was reported from the Judiciary Committee in 1914. This joint resolution was before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and was discussed for months. A comprehensive statement favoring the resolution was prepared in February, 1914, signed by the following members of the Committee on the Judiciary: Senators JOHN K. SHIELDS, KNUTE NELSON, now the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, ALBERT B. CUMMINS, W. E. CHILTON, DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, and one HENRY F. ASHURST.

This, therefore, is not a new matter which I have suddenly presented to the country and the Senate. I ask unanimous consent that at this time I may include in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, the views which those members of the Committee on the Judiciary held on this subject in 1914.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The report referred to is as follows:

[Senate Report 212, part 2, Sixty-third Congress, second session.]

The minority recommends that the resolution, omitting formal parts, be amended so as to read as follows:

"ARTICLE XVIII.

"SECTION 1. The terms of the President and Vice President of the United States shall commence on the third Monday in January following the election of presidential and vice presidential electors.

"SEC. 2. The presidential and vice presidential electors, composing the Electoral College, shall assemble in the States by which they are appointed and cast their votes for President and Vice President on the second Monday in December following their appointment, and the vote so cast, duly certified, shall be filed with the President of the Senate before the first Monday in January next thereafter, and the Congress shall meet in joint session on the second Monday in January following and open and count the same: *Provided*, That Congress may alter all the dates fixed in this section in its discretion.

"SEC. 3. The terms of Senators and Representatives shall commence on the first Monday in January following their election.

"SEC. 4. There shall be held two regular sessions of Congress, convening on the first Monday of January each year.

"SEC. 5. The terms of said officers who may be in office at the time of the adoption of this amendment are hereby changed to conform herewith."

The amendments of the resolution recommended are the substitution in the first section of the "third" Monday instead of the "second" Monday in January for the commencement of the terms of the President and Vice President; the substitution of the "second" Monday for the "first" Monday in December for the meeting of electors for President and Vice President; and provisions that the vote shall be filed with the President of the Senate before the first Monday in January, and that Congress shall meet on the second Monday thereafter and open and count the vote, and authorizing Congress to change these dates; and the addition of section 4, providing for a change in the terms of the President and Vice President and Senators and Representatives in office when the constitutional amendment is adopted and becomes effective, so that they will expire with the commencement of the terms of their successors, under the proposed amendment to the Constitution.

The Constitution, Article II, section 1, ordains that the President and Vice President shall hold office for the term of four years, but does not provide when the terms shall commence. The only recognition of the 4th of March succeeding the day of a presidential election as the day of the commencement of the terms of the President and Vice President is the provision in the twelfth amendment to the Constitution, effective September 25, 1804, that "if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the 4th day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President."

This would probably be construed to be a provision that the term of the President expired on the 4th of March after a presidential election—that a vacancy then exists—in which event the then Vice President succeeded to the office.

The time when the presidential electors should be elected, and the date on which they shall meet and give their vote is, by Article II, section 1, of the Constitution, left to the discretion of Congress, with the restriction that the day of voting shall be the same throughout the United States. An act was passed February 3, 1887, requiring them to meet and give their vote on the second Monday in January next after their appointment, in such place in each State as the legislature thereof shall direct; which vote, duly certified, to be delivered to the President of the Senate before the first Wednesday in February, and be canvassed by Congress, in joint session, on the second Wednesday in February thereafter.

The Constitution, while providing that Representatives shall hold their offices for two years (Art. I, sec. 2) and Senators for six years (Art. I, sec. 3), does not provide when the terms shall commence.

The commencement of the terms of the first President and Vice President, and of the Senators and Representatives composing the first Congress, was fixed by a resolution of Congress adopted September 13, 1788, providing "that the first Wednesday in March next (which happened to be the 4th day of March) be the time for commencing proceedings under the Constitution."

Congress has provided (act of Mar. 1, 1792, Rev. Stat., sec. 152) that the terms of the President and Vice President shall commence on the 4th day of March next succeeding the day on which the votes of the electors have been given, but there seems to be no statute enacted since the adoption of the Constitution fixing the commencement of the terms of Senators and Representatives.

The Constitution is proposed to be amended by the resolution as follows:

1. The terms of the President and Vice President, by the first section, are made to commence on the third Monday in January instead of the 4th day of March succeeding the election of electors.

2. The electors are required, by the second section, to meet and cast their vote on the second Monday in December succeeding their appointment; the vote to be filed with the President of the Senate before the first Monday in January thereafter, and the Congress to meet, in joint session, to open and count the same on the second Monday in January succeeding. The Congress, however, is authorized to change these dates.

The provisions of this section are entirely new, the present Constitution having left these matters entirely to the discretion of Congress, and are for the purpose of preventing confusion in putting the first section into effect.

3. The terms of Senators and Representatives are, by the third section, made to commence on the first Monday in January following their election.

This provision is new, and although there is no provision in the present Constitution fixing when the terms of Senators and Representatives shall commence, yet those providing that their terms shall be six and two years entitle those now in office and hereafter to be elected, to hold for two years after the 4th of March succeeding their election, the day when the first Senators and Representatives were qualified under the Constitution, and their terms can not be changed without a constitutional provision.

4. The fourth section merely changes the second paragraph of section 4 of Article I of the Constitution, in effect, so as to provide that Congress shall meet each year, commencing on the first Monday of January instead of the first Monday in December.

5. The provisions of section 5 are temporary, and for the purpose merely of putting into effect the material provisions by shortening the terms of the President and Vice President, and Senators and Representatives, to the extent of the periods between the dates fixed by the resolution for the commencement of the terms of these officers hereafter and the 4th of March succeeding said dates.

Under the present law Congress does not convene in regular session until 13 months after the election of its Members. There was some reason for such a provision at the time of the formation of our Government, as it then took a long time to ascertain the results of elections, and to reach the Capitol from remote parts of the country. But there is no excuse whatever now, since the most distant States of the Union are within a few days' travel of Washington City.

Senators heretofore have been elected by the legislatures of the States in January, and sometimes not until February or March. But since the adoption of the seventeenth amendment to the Constitution, by which Senators are to be elected by the people, probably at the November election, it becomes very opportune for Congress to convene in January following. The convening of Congress on the first Monday of December, as at present, is very inopportune, as adjournment for the Christmas holidays is always taken and many Members go to their homes, returning late, which precludes any real work until January.

The reasons for the adoption of the proposed amendment are these:

First, Congress should at the earliest practicable time enact the principles of the majority of the people, as expressed in the election of each Congress. That is why the Constitution requires the election of a new Congress every two years. If it is not to reflect the sentiment of the people these frequent elections have no meaning or purpose. Any evasion of this is subversive of the fundamental principle of our Government, that the majority shall rule. No other nation in the world has its legislative body convene so long after the expression of the people upon governmental questions.

During the campaign preceding a congressional election the great questions that divide the political parties are thoroughly discussed for the purpose of determining the policy of the Government and of having the sentiments of the majority crystallized into legislation. It seems trifling with the rights of the people when their mandates can not be obeyed within a reasonable time. It is unfair to an administration that the legislation which it thinks so essential to the prosperity of the country should be so long deferred. It is true an extraordinary session may be called early, but such sessions are limited generally to one or two subjects, which of necessity make enormous waste of the time of each House, waiting for the other to consider and pass the measures.

Second, As the law is at the present time, the second regular session does not convene until after the election of the succeeding Congress. As an election often changes the political complexion of a Congress, under the present law many times we have the injustice of a Congress that has been disapproved by the people enacting laws for the people opposed to their last expression. Such a condition does violence to the rights of the majority. A Member of the House of Representatives can barely get started in his work until the time arrives for the nominating convention of his district. He has accomplished nothing, and hence has made no record upon which to go before his party or his people. This is an injustice both to the Members and to the people. The record of a Representative should be completed before he asks an endorsement of his course.

Third, Under the present system a contest over a seat in the House of Representatives is seldom ever decided until more than half the term, and in many instances until a period of 22 months of the term, has expired. For all that time the occupant of the seat draws the salary, and when his opponent is seated he also draws the salary for the full term; thus the Government pays for the representation from that district twice. But that is not the worst feature of the situation; during all of that time the district is being misrepresented, at least politically, in Congress.

By Congress meeting the first Monday in January succeeding the elections, contested-election cases can be disposed of at least during the first six months of the Congress.

Fourth, The President and Vice President should enter upon the performance of their duties as soon as the new Congress can count the electoral votes. The newly elected governors of our States are inducted into office as soon as the new legislatures of the States canvass the votes and declare their election. It is the old Congress which now counts the electoral votes. It is dangerous to permit the defeated party to retain control of the machinery by which such important officers are declared elected.

In the event that no candidate for President receives a majority of the electoral votes, the Constitution provides that the House of Representatives shall elect the President, the representation from each State having one vote. At the present time it is the old Congress that elects the President under such contingency, and thereby it becomes possible for a political party repudiated by the people to elect a President who was defeated at the election. Under the present provision of the Constitution, in the event the House fails to choose a President before the 4th of March, then the Vice President then in

office becomes President for four years. This affords a great temptation, by mere delay, to defeat the will of the people, and if it is ever exercised it will likely produce a revolution.

It is true that January weather would likely be inclement for an inaugural parade, but that is a reason too insignificant to constitute an argument against a constitutional amendment which promises so much for good government. Nearly all the governors of the States are inaugurated in January. The pomp and ceremony which usually attend the coronation of monarchs are at least not necessary to a republic.

For these reasons we favor the adoption of the resolution, amended as herein suggested.

JNO. K. SHIELDS.
HENRY F. ASHURST.
KNUTE NELSON.
ALBERT B. CUMMINS.
W. E. CHILTON.
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXCLUSION OF ALIENS.

Mr. FLETCHER submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 14461) to provide for the protection of the citizens of the United States by the temporary suspension of immigration, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration and ordered to be printed.

COLUMBIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE FOR THE BLIND.

Mr. SHEPPARD submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$2,000 to aid the Columbia Polytechnic Institute for the Blind, at 1808 H Street NW., Washington, D. C., intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 15130) making appropriations to provide for the expenses of the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

EMERGENCY SUGAR TARIFF.

Mr. GAY. Mr. President, I submit an amendment intended to be proposed by me to the so-called emergency tariff bill, which I ask may be referred to the Committee on Finance. I also ask that the proposed amendment may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. GAY to the bill (H. R. 15275) imposing temporary duties upon certain agricultural products to meet present emergencies, to provide revenue, and for other purposes, was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On page 4, after line 3, insert the following paragraph:

"18. Sugars, tank bottoms, sirups of cane juice, melada, concentrated melada, concrete and concentrated molasses, testing by the polariscope not above 75°, 2.13 cents per pound, and for every additional degree shown by the polariscope test seventy-eight one-thousandths of 1 cent per pound additional, and fractions of a degree in proportion; molasses, testing not above 40°, 45 per cent ad valorem; testing above 40° and not above 56°, 63 cents per gallon; testing above 56°, 131 cents per gallon. Sugar draining and sugar sweeping shall be subject to duty as molasses or sugar, as the case may be, according to polariscopic test.

"That the duties in this paragraph herein imposed are in addition to the rates of duty imposed on such sugars by existing laws, and shall in no manner affect or impair such existing laws.

"Provided, That if the imposition of the duties herein shall have the effect of increasing the price in the ports of the United States of duty paid 96° centrifugal sugar produced in and imported from Cuba beyond 8 cents per pound or shall increase the price in the ports of the United States of similar sugars paying full duty beyond 8.76 cents per pound, or shall increase the price in the ports of the United States of sugars that have gone through a process of refining or sugars fit for direct human consumption beyond 10 cents per pound, then the emergency duty herein named shall be automatically decreased, so as to prevent the prices of such sugars advancing beyond the respective prices herein named."

In section 2, page 4, line 5, insert a comma after figure "15," strike out "and," and insert after figure "17" "and 18."

Mr. GAY. Mr. President, the emergency tariff bill which is now before the Senate is designed to relieve the distressing situation existing in all the agricultural sections of the country.

The chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, Mr. FORDNEY, admits that the bill, which was reported out of his committee and passed by the House, was hastily drawn, and has stated that later a more scientific tariff bill will be presented for the consideration of Congress.

Mr. President, I favor relieving the distress which the producers of other commodities are now suffering by including their commodities in the proposed emergency tariff legislation. I can not believe that any fair-minded Member of Congress can refuse to assist those engaged in the agricultural activities where it is shown that they are now in dire distress through no fault of their own.

The sugar producers of Louisiana, like the wool growers of the West and the wheat farmers, are in many instances being obliged to sell their product at a price far below the cost of production.

Sugar being one of the most important food products, the sugar planters of Louisiana, encouraged by the belief that the Government wished to foster such an industry, planted the usual acreage in sugar cane. They paid high wages to their employees and high prices for every commodity which they had to use, so that when the harvest season came the crop produced was the most expensive ever known. Under these conditions, and with the rapid decline in sugar prices within the last six weeks or two months, the sugar planters find themselves facing bankruptcy, and it is doubtful if even the remedy proposed in my amendment can save many of them.

We of Louisiana have never wanted to see sugar soar to prices which it attained during the past summer. The Louisiana producer has not been the beneficiary. He has adhered to the prices established by the Government; and I know of no case of profiteering among the sugar producers of the State.

Unfortunately, the speculator and the middleman got control of large quantities of sugar, both domestic and foreign, and boosted the prices beyond the dreams of the most greedy, and thus brought unjust criticism on the sugar producer of Louisiana and made enemies for the industry everywhere. It is unfortunate that such profiteers could not have been successfully prosecuted.

If the woolgrower, if the wheat farmer, if any other producer in America is entitled to consideration by Congress, then surely the sugar planters of Louisiana are entitled to the same consideration, and in this emergency should receive the same treatment from Congress, regardless of the fact that sugar has been used as a political football. I can not believe that fair-minded men will discriminate against it.

The amendment intended to be proposed by me provides that the price of 96 test sugar or raw sugar which comes into this country shall at no time exceed 8 cents. By providing a sliding scale for the tariff this price can be maintained for the period covered by the bill, and will at least have the effect of permitting the sugar producers to continue in business for another year, which without this legislation it is doubtful if many will be able to do.

SALE OR LEASE OF TERMINAL FACILITIES.

Mr. JONES of Washington submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 409), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, directed to inform the Senate what steps, if any, are being taken or have been taken to lease or sell any of the docks, piers, warehouses, or other terminal facilities constructed or acquired by the Government of the United States for the use of and used by the War Department during the war; and if any such facilities have been leased or it is proposed to lease or sell the same, advise the Senate the terms or proposed terms of such leases or sales and the law authorizing such action.

CREDITS TO GOVERNMENT OF POLAND.

Mr. SMOOT submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 410), which was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, requested to inform the Senate as to the character, extent, and amounts of credits which have been granted by the War Department to the Government of Poland, the character of securities and interest received thereon in exchange for such credits, and whether commissions, if any, have been received by any American citizens for services in connection with the granting of such credits.

WATER SUPPLY OF SUNNYSIDE, UTAH.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 46) for the protection of the water supply of the town of Sunnyside, Utah, which was, on page 2, line 16, after the word "purposes," to insert " : *Provided*, That deposits of coal or other minerals in the lands reserved by this act may be leased or otherwise disposed of by the Secretary of the Interior under laws applicable to such deposits, if and when he shall find that same may be mined and removed without injury to the municipal water supply of Sunnyside, Utah."

Mr. KING. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

FORT ASSINIBOINE MILITARY RESERVATION.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 2964) providing additional time for the payment of purchase money under homestead entries of lands within the former Fort Assiniboine Military Reservation in Montana, which was, on page 2, line 11, after the word "thereafter," to insert "in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior."

Mr. MYERS. I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OF SUNDRY CIVIL ACT OF 1902.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2188) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. L., p. 1133), which were, on page 2, line 8, after the word "period," to insert "not exceeding three years," and on page 2, line 16, after the word "lands," to insert "not irrigated and reclaimed."

Mr. SMOOT. I move that the Senate concur in the amendments of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

STATISTICS OF IMPORTS AND DUTIES.

The concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 68, was read and referred to the Committee on Printing, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That statistics of imports and duties from 1908 to 1918, inclusive, prepared for the use of the Committee on Ways and Means, be printed as a House document, and that 4,250 additional copies be printed, of which 2,500 shall be for the use of the House, 1,000 for the Senate, 500 for the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, and 250 for the Committee on Finance of the Senate.

SUMMARY OF TARIFF INFORMATION.

The concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 69, was read and referred to the Committee on Printing, as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the summary of tariff information, 1920, prepared for the use of the Ways and Means Committee, be printed as a House document, and that 7,500 additional copies be printed, of which 4,000 shall be for the use of the House, 2,000 for the Senate, 1,000 for the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, and 500 for the Committee on Finance of the Senate.

EMERGENCY TARIFF.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate a bill from the House of Representatives.

The bill (H. R. 15275) imposing temporary duties upon certain agricultural products to meet present emergencies, to provide revenue, and for other purposes, was read the first time by its title.

Mr. HARRISON. I object to the second reading of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the first time, it will remain on the table.

HOUSE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED.

H. R. 12045. An act to provide for the conveyance of lots on the low grounds of Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. R. 12161. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," approved March 4, 1909 (35 Stat. L., 1134); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 10920. An act declaring Platte River to be a nonnavigable stream; to the Committee on Commerce.

H. R. 14122. An act to authorize the sale of a portion of the Copper Harbor Range Lighthouse Reservation, Mich., to Houghton and Keweenaw Counties, Mich.; to the Committee on Commerce.

H. J. Res. 346. Joint resolution extending the time for payment of purchase money on homestead entries in the former Standing Rock Indian Reservation, in the States of North and South Dakota; to the Committee on Public Lands.

The bill (H. R. 9389) to consolidate, codify, revise, and reenact the general and permanent laws of the United States in force March 4, 1919, was read twice by its title.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be referred to the Committee on the Revision of the Laws without printing.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, several days ago I called attention to the fact that Senate resolution No. 327, asking for certain information from the Secretary of Agriculture, had just been responded to, and there was an implied criticism in my observation of the tardiness of the Secretary in responding to the resolution. Upon examination I discover that the Secretary quite promptly responded to the resolution, but I was not advised of that fact until the day that I called attention to the resolution and asked that the reply be referred to the Committee on Appropriations. In justice to the Agricultural Department I desire to submit that explanation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (at 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.). The morning business is closed.

BONUS FOR EX-SOLDIERS IN WORLD WAR.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, a few moments ago I made an attempt to have printed in the RECORD one brief resolution adopted by some of the heroes who participated in the late war. The senior Senator from Utah [Mr. SMOOT] saw fit to

object. I asked to have that resolution printed in the RECORD and then to have a number of others noted in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I shall take only a minute or two to read one of these resolutions, although I have a great number of them; but I want to say that I think some of the Members of this body become unduly alarmed over the expense to the Government of printing important communications. I know of no more important legislation than the legislation suggested by these soldiers. Are we to take the position now, Mr. President, since they were so victorious on the battle fields of France and Flanders, that we shall deny them the right even to be heard in the legislative halls of our country?

Mr. President, it seems to me that the least thing we can do to honor those heroes is to permit them to speak, and to speak through their representatives, if they so desire.

Mr. President, these boys stood ready at a moment's call to sacrifice their all upon the field of battle. They asked no questions at the time war was declared. They asked for no conditions whatever, but they stood ready to serve, and they served faithfully and well. Thousands of them have not returned, and other thousands who have returned came back maimed and crippled; and I hope those who were fortunate enough not to be injured will have the right to speak even to the Members of this great body.

Mr. President, I have received, and I present now in regular order to this distinguished body, resolutions from the American Legion posts at Crosby, Cando, Hope, Tuttle, Carrington, Grand Forks, Washburn, Hatton, Bismarck, Lisbon, Loma, Edgeley, Litchville, Fullerton, Portland, Fargo, Jamestown, Bowman, Donnybrook, Pembina, Oakes, Alexander, and Devils Lake, N. Dak. As I attempted to say a moment ago, they are very much alike in form, and I shall read only one of them. It is addressed to me, and is dated Devils Lake, N. Dak., November 17, 1920:

DEAR SIR: The following resolution was passed unanimously by the Tim Running Post, No. 24, of the American Legion, at Devils Lake, N. Dak., at the regular meeting of November 15, 1920:

"Whereas the American Legion, through the national convention, national officers, various departments, and local posts, have during the past year passed resolutions approving of the various plans for a soldier bonus; and

"Whereas the national legislative committee of the American Legion have worked out and submitted to and approved of by practically the entire membership of the American Legion a form of bonus known as the American Legion fourfold optional plan of a Federal bonus; and

"Whereas this fourfold plan has already passed the House of Representatives in Congress: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Tim Running Post, No. 24, petition the Senators of North Dakota to support the early passage through the United States Senate of this measure."

EVERETT A. DUELL,
Post Commander.
F. P. MANN, JR.,
Post Adjutant.

I ask, Mr. President, that the names of the officers in each one of these petitions be noted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WATSON in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRONNA. The American Legion posts from all these cities and towns have unanimously adopted resolutions indorsing this measure.

I am also in receipt of a telegram from the American Legion post at Minot indorsing the Fordney bill providing for adjusted compensation to soldiers. I ask that that may be printed in the RECORD. It is a very brief telegram.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The telegram is as follows:

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:
MINOT, N. DAK., December 17.

Five hundred members William Carroll Post, Minot, American Legion, unanimously indorse Fordney bill for adjusted compensation, and earnestly and respectfully ask your support for passage of this measure during the present session of Congress.

ARCHIE D. MCCANNEL,
Post Commander.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, we should immediately consider the requests of these brave heroes. They were called to arms at a moment's notice. They did not hesitate, but they went and performed their duties in a most creditable manner; thousands of them left good positions and others left their business to suffer. It is now for us to decide what shall be done with the requests of these World War heroes. Shall we turn a deaf ear to their requests or shall we proceed to consider the question in the same spirit that they performed their work?

So far as I am personally concerned my vote shall be cast, if I have the opportunity, for the enactment of legislation such as is outlined in these resolutions. It is the least we can do to recognize the patriotic services of these young men; and if perchance there happens to be some one not in need of any

financial aid, it is not compulsory upon him to receive it. But there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of the young men who do need it, and for that reason I favor the legislation suggested in these resolutions.

Mr. President, I realize that there is opposition to this legislation. Let us consider where the opposition comes from.

I have here a printed pamphlet under the heading of the chamber of commerce of the great city of New York:

At a special meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of New York, held April 21, 1920, the following preamble and resolutions, presented by its committee on a national budget, was unanimously adopted.

If there is no objection, Mr. President, in order to save time, I ask that these resolutions may be printed as a part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolutions are as follows:

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

At a special meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York held April 21, 1920, the following preamble and resolutions, presented by its committee on a national budget, was unanimously adopted:

BONUSES FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

"To the Chamber of Commerce:

"Whereas the grand total for Government expenditures this year, including the amount to be paid to the railroads, the amount of special appropriation bills of this session of Congress, and the amount to provide for deficiencies, was originally estimated at \$6,000,000,000; it is now estimated that these appropriations will be reduced by about \$1,500,000,000, leaving a total of \$4,500,000,000 to be derived from taxation; in addition to these appropriations the Government's present floating debt is about \$3,000,000,000; and

"Whereas it is estimated that the proposed legislation for the proposed blanket bonuses for veterans of the World's War will require about \$2,000,000,000, which brings the total amount to be derived from the taxation for the year 1921 up to \$6,500,000,000; and

"Whereas the estimated Federal revenue for 1920-21 being only about \$4,600,000,000, the revenue necessary to pay the proposed blanket bonuses must be obtained by one of the following methods:

- "(a) A retroactive excise tax on war profits;
- "(b) A revival of the rates levied for the year 1918;
- "(c) A heavy tax on luxuries;
- "(d) A general sales tax;
- "(e) Another bond issue; and

"Whereas any one of these methods of raising additional revenue would mean an increase in the tax burden upon the business of the country, a burden that is already stifling enterprise, which, in whatever form it may take, will add to and protract the present inflation; and

"Whereas the origin of a proposal for blanket bonuses for ex-soldiers seems to have been largely political and inconsistent with the avowed principles of the American Legion, and is contrary to the spirit of patriotism which animated the American Expeditionary Force, the proposal is neither just nor expedient. There exists no convincing evidence that the veterans of the World War are willing to become beneficiaries of a public expenditure which will inevitably bring serious economic consequences and will endanger the public welfare; and

"Whereas the country recognizes its duty—that full provision should be made for the rehabilitation of the disabled men and that there should be a generous provision for the dependents of those who died in the service: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York approves of generous provision for veterans of the World War who were disabled and for the dependents of those who died in the service, but that on economic and ethical grounds it is opposed to the proposal for a blanket bonus for all veterans, regardless of the actual needs of the individual due to his service; and be it further

Resolved, That the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York regards with grave concern the apparent breakdown of the Federal Board of Vocational Education and the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the two instrumentalities created by Congress for the protection of the disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States and the dependents of those who died in the service, and invites the attention of Congress to this serious situation.

"Respectfully submitted.

"CHARLES D. FREEMAN, Chairman.
"LEONOR F. LOREE,
"JOHN T. PRATT,
"HOWARD C. SMITH.

"Of the Special Committee on a National Budget."

ALFRED E. MARLING,
President.

Attest:

CHARLES T. GWYNNE,
Secretary.

NEW YORK, April 22, 1920.

Mr. GRONNA presented a resolution of the Tim Running Post, No. 24, American Legion, of Devils Lake, N. Dak., signed by Everett A. Duell, post commander, and F. P. Mann, Jr., post adjutant; a resolution of the Ernest De Nault Robertson Post, No. 14, American Legion, of Jamestown, N. Dak., signed by F. L. Robertson, post adjutant; a resolution of William Perry Makee Post, No. 75, American Legion, of Crosby, N. Dak., signed by W. E. Wadnans, post commander, and Earl O. Carlson, post adjutant; a resolution of the Hal Parker Post, American Legion, of Cando, N. Dak., signed by Vine D. Lord, post commander, and James S. Wiggins, post adjutant; a resolution of Forest E. Williams Post, No. 94, American Legion, of Alexander, N. Dak., signed by L. B. Randolph, post commander, and B. M. Smith, post adjutant; a resolution of the Howard Bean Post, American Legion, of Oakes, N. Dak., signed by

Earl Bellinger, post commander, and E. F. Bassingwaite, post adjutant; a resolution of the Pembina Post, American Legion, of Pembina, N. Dak., signed by Harry H. Miller, post commander, and George D. Peterson, post adjutant; a resolution of the Clarence McCormack Post, No. 195, American Legion, of Donnybrook, N. Dak., signed by George N. Constans, post commander, and F. J. Robinson, post adjutant; a resolution of the Earle V. Jefferson Post, No. 18, American Legion, of Hope, N. Dak., signed by J. A. Cyrus, post commander, and H. R. Cockle, post adjutant; a resolution of the Gilbert C. Grafton Post, No. 2, American Legion, of Fargo, N. Dak., signed by William T. Kroll, post adjutant; a resolution of the Charles M. Root Post, No. 93, American Legion, of Portland, N. Dak., signed by J. A. Grinde, post commander, and Elmer I. Knutson, post adjutant; a resolution of the M. J. McElvain Post, No. 152, American Legion, of Fullerton, N. Dak., signed by John R. Ulmer, post commander, and Theodore Ulmer, post adjutant; a resolution of the Martin Jacobson Post, American Legion, of Litchville, N. Dak., signed by Carl A. Platou, post commander, and T. J. Kinneberg, post adjutant; a resolution of the Henry Parthie Post, No. 146, American Legion, of Edgeley, N. Dak., signed by Otis Washburn, post commander, and Carl H. Huckleby, post adjutant; a resolution of the Southwest Cavalier County Post, American Legion, of Loma, N. Dak., signed by Oscar Lufgren, post commander, and C. H. Ginley, post adjutant; a resolution of the Florence Kimball Post, No. 7, American Legion, of Lisbon, N. Dak., signed by W. G. Curtis, post commander, and Fred Hanna, post adjutant; a resolution of the Lloyd Spetz Post, No. 1, American Legion, of Bismarck, N. Dak., signed by W. C. Paulson, post commander, and P. G. Harrington, post adjutant; a resolution of the Carrol O. Flesche Post, No. 70, American Legion, of Hatton, N. Dak., signed by M. S. Haakenson, post commander, and D. L. Wambheim, post adjutant; a resolution of the Victor B. Wallin Post, No. 12, American Legion, of Washburn, N. Dak., signed by H. E. Wahl, post commander, and A. H. Nygaard, post adjutant; a resolution of Grand Forks Post, No. 6, American Legion, of Grand Forks, N. Dak., signed by L. L. Eckman, post commander, and Philip R. Bangs, post adjutant; a resolution of the Louis Instead Post, American Legion, of Tuttle, N. Dak., signed by L. T. Buck, post commander, and Ernest W. Atwood, post adjutant; and a resolution of the John Raymond O'Hara Post, American Legion, of Carrington, N. Dak., signed by J. R. MacKenzie, post commander, and H. O. Hagen, post adjutant, praying for the passage of H. R. 14157, known as the American Legion fivefold optional plan of compensation for ex-service men, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a resolution of the Frank Gordhamer Post of the American Legion, of Bowman, N. Dak., signed by Leo D. Bartelme, post commander, D. G. Hogaboom, vice post commander, M. S. Byrne, post adjutant, C. A. Sampson, post finance officer, M. B. Goldstein, post historian, Carl Lee, post chaplain, and Frank C. James, post master at arms, praying for the passage of legislation giving to all ex-service men and women options to choose the form of compensation most suitable to their needs, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

BUILDING CONDITIONS AND COAL SITUATION.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, on Tuesday of last week I filed with the Senate a report of a special committee appointed in April of this year to inquire into the housing shortage of the country and into matters of transportation, thrift, and finance as they pertain to housing. This report was made after a survey of the country, the committee visiting many of the important cities, except those on the Pacific coast.

I offered the resolution which authorized the appointment of this committee because of the fact that the Federal Government itself is especially responsible for the housing shortage. It seemed to me that it was fitting that we should have accurate information before a serious attempt was made to legislate on the subject.

Senators may recall that, in a discussion with the late Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire, late in 1917, when a bill was pending in the Senate appropriating a hundred million dollars for Government housing in important industrial centers where there was a lack of living accommodations for men and women employed in Government service, I insisted that the attitude of the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board in discouraging construction would in the end bring about a shortage of housing which it would take years to overcome. I protested that the building of homes was, next to the production of food, the most essential of all the country's enterprises, and that it would be much better to stop less essential work and permit the housing business to continue wherever labor, capital, and ma-

terial could be obtained without interference with the business of carrying on the war. As I recall it, no other Member of this body offered protest. We were so absorbed in the war that we overlooked many other essential matters.

When the war was over there was almost at once a disposition to again begin active construction work, but we were unable to proceed because of the fact that the whole building industry had been disrupted; we found that transportation was inadequate and material directed to other channels; and that labor, through war conditions, had changed the whole system of business, while the wages of labor in the building trade had doubled and its efficiency materially decreased. Our transportation facilities were disorganized by Government operation and mismanagement. Railroad service for construction materials had failed, although recently it has been somewhat improved.

To-day we have freight rates on building materials more than double what they were before the war, and with all probability that the high rates will remain in effect. Our lowest coal prices to-day are two and one-half times what they were in prewar times, and in some cases from six to ten times the prewar price. The Government has fixed the wages of men employed by the railroads and in the mines. We can not hope for any material reduction in transportation or fuel unless there is some reduction in wages. It is true that the railroads are being operated now much more efficiently than a few months ago, but if these high wage rates continue, we can not expect any noticeable reductions in transportation rates.

We are facing an entirely new business situation. Wages are higher; other costs are higher. And while there ought to be a substantial reduction in the prices of every commodity, building construction prices will never come back to where they were before, so we must face the situation with that in mind.

The present tax laws are a large element in contributing to the situation. In the cities the increased cost of necessary local improvements has doubled the taxes. The need for additional revenue has caused the enactment by the several States of income-tax laws. The cost of the war, the need for revenue to pay interest and for the amortization of our debt, and the increased cost of government will keep taxes out of proportion to the prewar rate for a good many years. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his recent annual statement, estimated the yearly cost of running the Government at four billion, and stated that in his judgment it would be impossible for a number of years to decrease this amount.

High taxes have been particularly burdensome on the building industry. In fact, some individuals of large incomes who formerly loaned a large part of their capital on real estate mortgages claim that these mortgages, after paying taxes, net less than 2 per cent income, and that other investments can be found which will give 5 and 6 per cent; this, naturally, results in a shortage of money for housing development.

There is no doubt that there exists a serious shortage of houses, not only in the great cities, but in the smaller towns as well, and in fact even in the villages, and this applies to every part of the country. Wherever the committee has held hearings, people have traveled hundreds of miles to testify as to unfavorable building conditions in their respective communities. They have complained of money shortage; they have complained of building material costs and lack of transportation for building materials. Some sober, level-headed business men have urged that the committee refrain from making any recommendations to relieve the situation, insisting that the law of supply and demand would take care of the situation. I pointed out to them that there was a demand, even a shortage, and that there is an ample supply of raw materials and labor, but still that there is no active movement in the building of homes. Many of the State legislatures have enacted laws which they felt would furnish some relief. In Massachusetts, for instance, a bill was passed which had the purpose of controlling rentals. In that Commonwealth other measures were enacted giving municipalities the right to bond themselves to the extent of 1 per cent of their assessed real estate, this money to be used by the city for home building. In New York and New Jersey rent laws were passed and laws exempting from taxation, for a period of years, new buildings erected strictly for housing purposes. Other restrictive measures of local character have also been passed. But most of these laws have tended to further increase the housing shortage by discouraging building.

It is interesting to note that we are not the only country which is troubled with this same problem. In France the situation has become so bad that the Government, in response to public demand, has actually offered to builders 50 per cent of the cost of construction if they would only get busy and con-

struct homes for the people. In England the Government is attempting to arrange for the construction of 500,000 working-men's houses. These are all to be built by the Government itself and rented at a price that will hardly pay the interest on the cost of construction, with the result that some day England will face a condition, in attempting to pay its housing bonds, that will, unless extraordinary steps are taken to prevent it, undermine her whole business and social fabric.

The committee's activities have been directed with the idea in mind of extending facilities to private initiative rather than subsidies, and rather than elaborating governmental organization for construction. The total housing construction in this country, during the past four years was less than in the year 1916 alone, or in fact in any other one of the immediate prewar years. The construction of houses is like every other business, based entirely upon the profit in the venture, and men will build houses again when they can see an opportunity for gain. There will be protests against legislation that will tend to encourage men to make profits, but after all unless the producer can make profits the shortage of houses will continue; in fact it will become even more embarrassing than it is to-day.

When the committee began its inquiry into the subject, it was anxious to find some means by which the Federal legislation could help restore building activity without directly involving the Government in construction or subsidy. The Nation has had enough of governmental operation and control of business. The committee has found this sentiment existing everywhere it went, but it has also found a feeling that the Government, having stopped building, must furnish facilities to restore the industry to its normal activity. And so the committee has recommended the establishment of a construction bureau in the Department of Commerce which may be a clearing house for all building activities and a place where information can be obtained concerning building materials, where study can be made of all sorts of new building methods tending to decrease costs, and where uniformity of standard materials may be worked out. In other words, the bureau will be helpful in furnishing information of every character, to stimulate building, reduce its cost, and be a means of encouraging generally the building of homes for all the people of the country. The creation of this bureau has been strongly urged by practical men engaged in the building industry throughout the country, and if initiated under the proper auspices, will, I am sure, prove exceedingly helpful.

In the committee's inquiry into financing building it discovered, among other things, that in the country west of the Allegheny Mountains the banking methods were different from those in the East. In the Eastern States we have a system of mutual savings banks where 50 per cent of the deposits are loaned back to the people for building construction, mostly homes, in the immediate neighborhood where the money is deposited. As an evidence of the extent of the business done in this way, it is interesting to note that in New York State these savings banks have deposits totaling \$2,398,328,940, and have approximately \$1,227,117,575 loaned back on bond and mortgages on real estate. A like condition exists in the New England States and in other Eastern States, but there are none of these mutual banks in the western country. The State and national banks, however, have savings departments where money is deposited at large interest rates, and these deposits are loaned on short-term securities, little or no part being used for financing homes.

Our committee has been informed that there is upward of \$2,000,000,000 of savings deposits in the national banks of the country, and I have introduced a bill to-day which provided that 50 per cent of the savings deposits in these banks may be loaned on mortgages on real estate. In my judgment, this will not in any degree affect the stability of these banks. These deposits may be drawn on demand, but under the statutes 90 days' notice may be required in case of an emergency. In my own judgment, it will do much to safeguard these banks, although the deposits will not be as liquid as they are to-day; in the long run, however, they will be more secure, for there is no investment safer than first mortgages on homes.

The committee's investigations have convinced me that under our present Federal taxation system the issuance by the States of bonds for public improvements have been unduly encouraged. These are issued tax-exempt, and wherever public interest can be secured for an improvement of any character in a State or any of its subdivisions it is easy to get money in this manner. Not only are the funds of the country being drawn from industry in this manner, but vast sums have been wasted through the carrying on of public improvements that could have been deferred until business conditions are stabilized.

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. President, does the Senator object to an interruption?

Mr. CALDER. No, Mr. President.

Mr. McLEAN. Has the Senator any estimate of the total investment in nontaxable securities?

Mr. CALDER. I have a statement here.

Mr. McLEAN. I think it is something more than sixteen billion.

Mr. CALDER. My estimate was that it was a little less than fifteen. Men of large incomes are drawing their money out of active industry and investing it in these tax-exempt securities in order to avoid the payment of taxes. These tax-exempt securities have increased in the last five years from \$3,000,000,000 to over \$14,000,000,000. High taxes and exempt securities have not only led States to bond themselves to such an extent that they will some day find it difficult to meet their obligations, but have also retarded the Nation's business generally. They have resulted in taking from the mortgage field almost completely the private investor. The interest rate on mortgages is fixed by law in nearly every State, and individuals of large means who formerly invested a considerable portion of their wealth in mortgage investments find to-day, because of high taxes, their net profits in many cases not more than one-third of what they received before the income-tax law went into effect. I am informed that the Marshall Field estate in Chicago and the estate of Hetty Green, both of whom formerly loaned heavily on real estate, find their incomes from this source less than 2 per cent, and they are diverting their capital funds to more lucrative investments. The supply of mortgage money is so restricted that to-day the home owner is compelled to rely largely on savings banks and insurance companies in the East and building and loan associations in the West. I have introduced a bill exempting from taxation the income on mortgages when in the hands of individuals, provided that no individual shall own more than \$40,000 worth of exempt mortgages.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I would like to ask the Senator if any of the States have laws similar to that. Do the States exempt in many instances, where the money goes into homes?

Mr. CALDER. I do not know of any State that does, I will say, Mr. President. In New York State we have an income tax, graduated from 1 to 3 per cent, but in that State the income on mortgages is not tax exempt. I will say to the Senator from Iowa that this is not a very large item of the Federal tax except in the case of a lender or of an institution with a very large income, where the income runs into the millions or hundreds of thousands, when the income tax gets up to 50 or 60 or 65 per cent. The fact that two-thirds of the income from the mortgage investment is taken in taxation practically takes the mortgage paper out of the market.

I consider the adoption of this measure very necessary unless our whole revenue system is changed, the excess-profits tax repealed, and the maximum income tax fixed at not to exceed 30 per cent of the income. It is the common belief that these high taxes are taken entirely from the rich, and while on the surface of things that appears to be so, in the end the taxes are passed on to the consumer. I know there is a well-grounded opinion that it would be unwise to further extend our tax-exempt field, but the Government itself is responsible for the present building conditions as well as for the present tax-exempt securities, and it would be much better to provide for a small tax exemption for mortgages and thereby obtain sufficient means to revive the housing industry rather than later in response to public demand adopt a Government construction program of a socialistic nature which would mean the expenditure of several billion dollars from the Public Treasury. When the present revenue laws are revised not only should the high rates be lowered, but I would provide that further issues of State and municipal bonds should at least be subject to normal income-tax rates. This would check the movement of large issues of tax-exempt bonds. This, I am sure, would be welcomed by those who are trying to safeguard the interests of the different communities of the country. However, until the issuance of tax-exempt securities has been effectively checked the real estate mortgages should be made a more attractive investment unless we are prepared to face the consequences of an increasing housing shortage.

In the committee's report we have recommended legislation providing for exemption for the next five years of the profits on the sale of new buildings erected for dwelling purposes, provided these profits are reinvested in new buildings. Legislation of this character was enacted at the last session of Congress in order to encourage the building of ships engaged in the foreign trade. This is very unusual, but in my opinion should be extended to cover housing also, as such legislation is justifiable in the emergency that exists to-day.

The committee has also urged the creation of a home loan banking system in line with our farm loan bank. Under the bill proposed there would be established in each Federal reserve

district banks to be organized with a capital of not less than a hundred thousand dollars, stock to be subscribed by building and loan associations in that district. The purpose of these banks is to permit the discounting of mortgages held by building and loan associations. No Government funds or subsidy are contemplated, because the building and loan associations already have ample assets. The committee believes that legislation of this kind could be so safeguarded as to avoid any possible loss on the part of the Government or of any individual, and that vast sums could be obtained through the sale of bonds to conservative investors. The objection to this bill is based entirely on the fact that it would create more tax-exempt securities. There is some justification for this objection, but these building and loan associations of the country have to-day loaned on bonds and mortgages over \$2,200,000,000, and there are no organizations in the country that have contributed more toward obtaining homes for our people than have these building and loan associations. They are organized under State laws, and in the main conducted by men located in the immediate community where they are operating, and the amount of their losses has been negligible. In fact, I am of the opinion that in the present business depression the securities held by these associations have universally maintained their value and there have been few losses. At least 95 per cent of these organizations are in favor of the legislation I have referred to. The suggestion has come to the committee—and we are disposed to consider it—that perhaps the bonds issued under this act might be made subject to the normal tax. The suggestion has also come to the committee that under this home loan banking system corporations other than building and loan associations might also organize for loaning money to build homes. The committee may determine to recommend this being done.

I have talked to-day about the financing of building. This, in my judgment, is one of the important things in connection with the revival of building activity, but there are other questions involved, and I have already referred to them in some degree. Labor is a big problem. The testimony before our committee indicates, when one considers the cost to the manufacturer of materials which go into houses, that 75 per cent of it is for labor.

There is no question that labor has been inefficient since the war. This is apparent to everyone and not even denied by labor itself. It was brought about by the allocation of many skilled men to war work, and was encouraged by the cost-plus system of contracting, where it made no difference to the employer whether labor did a day's work or not or whether it received more or less. Wages have doubled and efficiency has lessened to such an extent that when averaged up one finds that it cost three or four times as much for the labor to build a house this year as it did in 1916. I think it fair, however, to labor to say that in recent months its efficiency has materially increased. Labor insists that the high wages paid them during the past 15 months shall be maintained, and they have a right to insist upon this unless living costs are reduced. There is evidence that we are approaching a period when living costs will be reduced. When that time comes labor must do its part.

There is another very important matter that the committee discovered in its investigation of the building situation, and that is the lack of apprentices. Labor in the past has sought to check the number of apprentices, contending that if the number was unlimited it would in the end afford less opportunity for journeymen to obtain employment. This situation no longer exists, for in most cities of the country we find little disposition on the part of the young men to learn the building trades. They are to-day more interested in engaging in lines of endeavor where no manual labor is required. There never was greater opportunity for the young men of America to learn trades in which employment is steady and unlimited. This is true in nearly all building trades. I have already called it to the attention of the Senate and I have called it to the attention of the governors of a number of States, so that some steps may be undertaken to establish trade schools, where young men may be encouraged to equip themselves to take advantage of existing opportunities.

The future of the country is involved in this matter of skilled labor. I have been an observer of building activities for years; the country has been depending largely upon men coming here from abroad to furnish the workmen in our building industry. The immigrants from the Scandinavian countries, Germany, and the British Isles have formed a large part of our building tradesmen, but now very few trained workmen are coming from these countries; and with little disposition on the

part of American-born young men to learn the trades, unless there is a revival of interest we will be a country of mediocre workmen in another generation.

I think it fair to say in behalf of the American Federation of Labor that when their representatives have appeared before this committee they have been willing always to cooperate in all matters to encourage building of homes. They have appointed a committee to adjust jurisdictional strikes, and much good has been done in ending labor difficulties through this instrumentality.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York will kindly suspend while the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The READING CLERK. The bill (S. 3390) to provide further for the national defense; to establish a self-sustaining Federal agency for the manufacture, production, and development of the products of atmospheric nitrogen for military, experimental, and other purposes; to provide research laboratories and experimental plants for the development of fixed-nitrogen production; and for other purposes.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, we have a situation in the city of New York where a committee of our legislature, presided over by Senator Lockwood, with Samuel Untermyer as counsel, has rendered unusual public service in unearthing building conditions that have shocked the country. They have found combinations between labor and capital, or, I should say, not exactly between labor and capital, but on the part of some labor leaders who, through dealing with some men of the building industry, have been able to obtain for certain labor leaders tremendous sums of money, and have given some members of the building industry unusual advantage in being able to obtain labor to complete their contracts within a given time. Many men have been indicted in New York in connection with this matter. Some have been convicted and others I am sure will be.

Our committee has authority from the Senate to appoint counsel, for the purpose of taking up the subject from a nation-wide standpoint. I feel confident that when we have concluded our inquiry in this line we will have cleaned up the situation to some degree and benefits will come to the building business of the country, and more particularly to the housing industry, and that prices will be lower, at least to some degree, as a result of this very same matter.

I repeat that, in my opinion, private initiative should be encouraged. We have relied upon our American citizenry to solve its problems in the past. There never was a time when the country needed the best-directed efforts as much as it does to-day, and Congress can perform no greater service than that of enacting legislation which will encourage private citizens to settle their own problems, rather than legislation which will make the private citizen dependent upon the Government.

May I call the attention of the Senate to a situation that has caused considerable trouble during the past six months? That is the issuance of priority orders by the Interstate Commerce Commission for the transportation of coal. These were issued with the best of intentions, but did much harm, particularly to the building industry. While the movement of fuel is important, the Interstate Commerce Commission acted, it seemed to the committee, many times without full information. It was most unwise and most damaging to industry to have ex parte orders issued for the movement of coal, without opportunity to men in other lines to present their side of the case to the commission. The committee would direct the attention of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce to this matter, with a view to amendment of the transportation act, in order to check the issuance of ill-advised ex parte orders. These priority orders have forced men who had to have various building materials at once to pay two and three times the regular price for them. These priority orders have retarded business and discouraged building immensely during the past year. I believe, however, that transportation facilities have now improved to such an extent that the priority orders will be unnecessary during the coming year.

In discussing the effect of the housing shortage on public health and morals, I wish to refer to a recent conference held by the health commissioners of the country at Detroit, called by Dr. Copeland, health commissioner of the city of New York, at the suggestion of the committee. All cities with a population of 200,000 or over were represented. The report of the conference indicates that in every city of the Nation there is abnormal overcrowding. It was brought out that as a result of the overcrowding infant mortality in the congested centers has increased 50 per cent. There is also a large increase in the number of tuberculosis cases in the cities. This conference of

health commissioners strongly urged that every effort should be made by the States and Federal Government to revive housing activity, and pointed out that if something is not done to bring this about the health of the Nation will be menaced.

The Senate undoubtedly recalls the recent figures of the Census Bureau, which show that for the first time a majority of our people live in cities, while formerly a majority lived in the rural districts. It seems to be the trend of the times for people to gather in the cities, and no act of ours here can change that drift. Since these people are in the cities, they must be sheltered. I wish to urge upon the Senate that greater interest be displayed here in the human welfare, so that something may be done to relieve the deplorable living conditions.

Many Members of the Senate believe these conditions will in the end take care of themselves. France believed likewise until she was compelled to pass housing laws, which mean Government building and paternalism. England thought so until she had to provide for the building of 500,000 homes for her workmen. New York thought so until the people demanded the passing of rent laws. Massachusetts thought so until the legislature found it necessary to enact similar laws. So we hesitate and put off until we may have to take action, which is damaging to the future of our country. Would it not be better to act now than to wait and have the people of America rise up in discontent and demand that the Government itself go into the building business?

I can not take my seat without saying a word on the coal situation. This every Senator knows about. Our railroad difficulties and our labor difficulties have had much to do with our fuel problem. Coal profiteering on the part of the mine operators has encouraged the miners to ask for more pay. When they see the mine operators charging \$15 a ton for their product, it is natural that the miner should demand a part of their profits. Bituminous coal which before the war sold at the mine for \$1.50, is now \$3.50 to \$15, and anthracite, which formerly sold at the mine for \$3.50, has brought recently from \$8 to \$20.

Fuel is a basic necessity. National development depends upon an ever-increasing supply of power. Heat is as necessary for production, in fact, for human existence, as is air or water; its use must be continued from day to day and can not be deferred or interrupted.

Our investigation into the coal situation has convinced me that the private interests now in control of the production and distribution of coal, in spite of efforts by some, are actually unable to prevent a continuance or a repetition of the present deplorable situation, and that it is the duty of the Government to take such reasonable and practical steps as it may to remedy the evil. We must have fuel and shelter, and something must be done to supply the dire necessities to the people. Men have contended that this business, too, will take care of itself, and considerable reference has been made to the operation of the railroads under Government control. It is a recognized fact that the coal business, if properly conducted, could easily supply fuel to the people at a price they could afford to pay. The committee has felt disposed, before it actually urges the establishment of complete Government control, or even the licensing system, to recommend that all coal operators, wholesalers, jobbers, and retailers be compelled by statute to file at regular and frequent periods with some Federal agency reports on the total tonnage produced or handled, the size and quality thereof, the amount of tonnage contracted for, the amount sold on contract and at spot sale, to whom, together with the prices made or received under such contracts or sales.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Will the Senator suffer an interruption?

Mr. CALDER. Certainly.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Is the Senator familiar with the bill which was presented by the subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate Commerce to the full committee, which carries out practically all the recommendations in the preliminary report of the committee of which the Senator is the head?

Mr. CALDER. I have not minutely examined the bill to which the Senator refers, but from a hasty examination of it it would seem in large part to agree with my conclusions on the matter.

I wish to compliment the Senator upon his bill. It is a step in the right direction. I wish to say to him, too, that I arrived at my conclusions in the matter without ever having read his bill or having the slightest knowledge that he and I were of the same opinion as to the remedy.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I hope to have the Senator's support if the bill is reported out by the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. CALDER. I will say to the Senator from New Jersey again that in the main I agree with his proposition. I would go a little further than the Senator does, and I purpose to confer with him about the whole situation before introducing the bill I have in mind.

Let me say further to the Senator that he is a member of the great Committee on Interstate Commerce, and a very prominent member of the committee. I trust that he will urge his committee at the very earliest date to take up consideration of his bill, and the bill which I shall introduce, upon which I am hopeful his committee will agree.

Mr. McLEAN. Can the Senator from New York give us from his investigation any information with regard to the activities of the Department of Justice or the Federal Trade Commission in trying to enforce the laws against extortion and in the production and sale of coal?

Mr. CALDER. I know there has been some activity on the part of the Department of Justice, but not in my judgment as great as could easily have been. I believe that there is plenty of evidence obtainable that would have warranted the Department of Justice in prosecuting, under the Lever Act, some of the men interested in the coal business in the country. I know some suits have been begun, but I know of none that have terminated successfully. I know also, I will say to the Senator from Connecticut, that the Federal Trade Commission has attempted to obtain from the coal operators of the country detailed information along the line asked for by the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] and as recommended by our report; that is, complete information as to costs, selling prices, production, and all similar matters; but when the Federal Trade Commission sought to collect such information the coal operators of the country began suit against the commission, and have been able, so far, to restrain them by order of the court from gathering the information. So I think it is hardly fair to say that the Federal Trade Commission has not made some effort to get information which, if obtained and published to the whole country, would, I am sure, be very helpful.

Mr. President, we are not sure that the remedy proposed will be adequate, but believe it should be tried before the Government goes into business itself. It would afford opportunity for the public to know the exact cost of production, the price coal was sold for, and to whom. It would also afford opportunity for coal to be traced to its final destination and in all probability would bring the relief desired. The committee makes this recommendation now and is to inquire further into the situation.

During the past few days revelations have been made as to the actual cost of the production of bituminous coal—we have that information in our possession, obtained from some of the operators—as to the great production this year, and as to the fact that the railroads have carried more tonnage during the months of July, August, September, and October than ever before in their history; and yet Interstate Commerce Commissioner Aitchison, when asked by me in his appearance before our committee, "Has it ever been suggested that coal was being held for higher prices or speculation?" answered:

I have not any doubt of it. There has been the greatest crossing of orders, double-crossing of orders, and double-crossing of consignees and those that have had contracts for the last 90 days that I have ever known about in my business experience. That is abundantly established. We have moved coal. It has been moved and delivered in such quantities that there ought not to be any occasion for panic. But there has been the excuse of car shortage and the excuse of labor trouble. The result has been that certain unscrupulous mine owners, I have no doubt, and perhaps certain brokers who have contracts with the railroads, with construction companies of one kind or another, with industries, with wholesalers and with retailers of coal that have deliberately withheld the fulfilling of their contracts in order that they might have coal for the market.

That was the statement of a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission appearing as a witness before our committee. Coal has been so difficult to obtain that the Government itself has been obliged to pay commissions ranging as high as 50 cents per ton, one gentleman alone receiving many thousands of dollars simply for acting as an agent for the War Department in connection with such purchases.

I will call the attention of my colleagues particularly to the remarks which I now propose to make, because they affect some coal purchased by the War Department.

Mr. POMERENE. Who was the man to whom the Senator has referred?

Mr. CALDER. The one who made the \$75,000 fee?

Mr. POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. CALDER. He was Col. Wentz, president of the National Coal Operators' Association. It appears that he was invited by the War Department to purchase for them not exceeding 275,000

tons of coal, and merely for acting as the agent for the War Department he was to be paid \$137,000. The evidence before the committee indicated that he had already procured for the Government while acting as its agent 150,000 tons of coal, involving a commission or agency fee to him of \$75,000.

Mr. POMERENE and Mr. EDGE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WADSWORTH in the chair). Does the Senator from New York yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. CALDER. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. POMERENE. Am I correctly advised that this gentleman was himself at the head of a certain corporation which was selling coal at probably \$4 a ton or thereabouts to private parties; that he went out and bought coal for the War Department at \$11 a ton and got a commission of 50 cents per ton thereon? I was so informed this morning, though I was not present at the time he testified. Is that correct?

Mr. CALDER. It is substantially correct, but the evidence before the committee indicated that Col. Wentz's mine in West Virginia, the Stonega mine, was selling coal for \$3.50 per ton, or perhaps \$3.75 a ton, and that, acting as the agent for the Government, he sold coal to the War Department at \$11 a ton. I inquired of Col. Wentz if he sold any of his \$3.50 coal to the Government. He said he did not, but that he sold other people's coal to the Government at \$11 per ton, out of which he made a commission or an agency fee of 50 cents.

Mr. POMERENE. Has the Senator individually, or has his committee, been able to reconcile that course of conduct with the principles of common honesty which ought to regulate the relations which exist between a man who is dealing with the Government and the Government?

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I was quite shocked at the disclosure, and stated at the hearing that the American people never would agree that a transaction was perfectly legitimate whereby a coal operator who sold coal for \$3.50 a ton to his private customers should, while representing the Government, obtain coal for it at \$11 a ton. His answer was that he had no coal to sell at that time, but that the Government had sent him out to buy coal in the market for it, and that he did buy some coal for the Government at as high a price as \$11 a ton.

Mr. KENYON. May I ask the Senator from Ohio a question?

Mr. POMERENE. I yield, with the permission of the Senator from New York.

Mr. KENYON. Being a member of the committee which made this investigation, I am interested in the inquiry of the Senator from Ohio. Does he think that it is the duty of the committee to reconcile with the principles of common honesty the operations of many of the coal operators in this country? If he does, I wish to retire from the committee.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I am very frank to say that when I asked the question, with all the respect that I have for the great ability of the committee, I did not believe they would be able to do it. I simply desire to observe—and I am assuming when I make the statement that the facts are fully before the committee, and I base my statement upon that assumption—that I think the facts should be referred to the Department of Justice, if this man is a civilian, for their investigation; and if he was in the War Department it ought to be referred to that department, with a view to court-martialing him.

Mr. CALDER. The Senator from Ohio is referring to and, of course, has in mind Col. Wentz. Col. Wentz is not now in the service; he is not a Regular Army officer, but is the president of the National Coal Association. He has not been in the service for some time, nor did he arrange for this agency fee while he was in the Army. Col. Wentz is a coal operator, and is also a wholesale coal dealer. Not as an operator selling coal at \$3.50 a ton, but as a wholesale coal dealer, selling coal at the market price, he arranged this matter for the War Department, as he says, at its request. I have no reason to doubt him. He said at the request of the War Department he went out and bought the coal at prices not exceeding \$11 a ton, receiving a fee of 50 cents for doing that for the War Department.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, does not the difference between \$3.50 and \$11 per ton represent the average extent to which the Government was held up during the war on all articles purchased by it?

Mr. CALDER. I think that may be true; but the war is over and high prices ought to cease.

Mr. McCUMBER. Yes; but I was merely trying to ascertain whether that was about the extent to which the Government was robbed during the war in connection with all articles purchased by it, at the same time it was paying ninety-odd dollars for a hinge and \$45 for a lock for a door.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President—

Mr. CALDER. I yield.

Mr. EDGE. With the permission of the Senator from New York, I think it is only fair to state that, as I recall the testimony before the committee yesterday, Col. Wentz testified that he advised the War Department that they should not buy coal at that time, but the War Department—and I think the evidence was the Secretary of War or the purchasing agent; I am not sure which and can not state positively—insisted that he go into the market at that time and buy the amount of coal that he was deputized to buy, and it was necessary, in order to carry out that order, to pay from \$6.90, to \$11 per ton. I think that is correct, is it not?

Mr. CALDER. That statement was made by Col. Wentz.

Mr. POMERENE. May I ask a question for further information?

Mr. CALDER. I yield.

Mr. POMERENE. Did the committee go into the question of the immediate necessities of the Government at that time?

Mr. EDGE. I did not catch the question.

Mr. POMERENE. Did the committee go into the question of what were the immediate necessities of the Government at that time?

Mr. EDGE. No; not in detail. It was at the end of the day's session. This information, however, must be followed up by the committee in many respects. The particular coal purchases, as I recall, were made in September and October of this year for the coming winter's use.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I have such infinite confidence in the personal integrity and the high character of the Secretary of War that I do not believe he would enter into any contract unless he thought that it was absolutely necessary. I have no doubt that, whatever his views may have been at the time, they were based upon what he thought was sufficient evidence; but I am directing my attention to the coal dealer, who will sell his own coal at \$3.50 to the private consumer or the industrial consumer, and when it comes to selling coal to the Federal Government for its operations charges \$11 per ton. That course can not be defended.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, I am quite sure that no member of the committee is offering any immunity for the coal dealers. If Senators have followed up our investigation and the reports we have already submitted they will realize that it is not necessary even to discuss such a question. The Senator from Ohio, I think, has not entirely understood the testimony as I recall it. The same purchasing agent for the Government, Col. Wentz, did not sell his coal for \$11, as I recall his testimony.

Mr. CALDER. That is correct.

Mr. EDGE. He sold his coal for \$3.50 and above, but I do not recall that he ever sold it for as high as \$11.

Mr. POMERENE. I think inadvertently I used the word "sell." I understood from what the chairman of the committee said that the gentleman referred to went out and bought the coal from other producers and sold it and got a commission of 50 cents.

Mr. EDGE. Yes; but Col. Wentz stated very positively to the committee that he did that upon positive orders of the War Department and against his own advice.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, the committee now knows the cost of bituminous coal at the mines of the respective producers; it knows the names of the producers and the amounts at which they have sold their coal; it knows something of the activities of one of the great coal associations which during the past three years has spent nearly a million dollars, has collected from its members nearly a million and a quarter, and is now collecting at the rate of nearly a half million dollars annually. This association during the past summer has been trying to ally itself with wholesalers and retailers and anthracite producers, in order to present a united front to influence the making and administration of the Federal laws. It has assisted in drafting some of the priority car-service orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission which have relieved its members of contractual obligations. It is ever ready to supply voluminous information upon the questions which are to the interest of its membership, but seems reluctant to supply simple and essential information which may be to their disadvantage. Its membership have dictated to the United States Geological Survey as to the form in which the basic figures should be compiled. It has spent in lawyers' fees alone during the past nine months over \$100,000. Its officers have held forth to this committee promising assurances of reductions in prices of bituminous coal since last July. Nevertheless, profiteering has continued and propaganda has been issued shifting responsibility to others; indeed, this association is so powerful that its president has been

sought by the War Department as a procurer of bituminous coal at a commission of 50 cents a ton.

According to the final figures furnished the committee, during the period from July to November the War Department purchased some 900,000 tons of bituminous coal at figures as high as \$13 at the mine. The average cost of mining this coal was probably about \$3. The average price to the War Department of this coal at the mine was about \$7 per ton, so that the department paid about \$3,600,000 over the cost of producing the coal.

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. President—

Mr. CALDER. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. McLEAN. In my section of the country in the early autumn of this year the operators had sold large quantities of coal at contract price, say, \$10 or \$11 a ton delivered there, and the purchasers could not get the coal. They were told by the operators that they did not have it, but that they could go to what they called the independents and buy all the coal they wanted for from \$18 to \$20 a ton.

I had quite a correspondence with the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission in regard to the matter, and I could not get any satisfaction at all. It seems to me that the law ought to be so amended that the Federal Trade Commission, in cooperation with the Department of Justice, can get at a situation like that and punish them, and if the Federal Trade Commission have not power enough it seems to me it would be a good plan to give them additional power. If all they have are gums without teeth, we had better put some teeth into the gums without establishing any new board.

Mr. CALDER. I am quite in accord with the Senator's views. I know something about the conditions in his State. I heard a good deal about them from the Senator himself during the summer. The trouble was this: Those who had contracts to deliver coal to the citizens of the Senator's State complained that they could get no cars; but the Senator's constituents could always go out and get the coal if they paid the price, while the coal operator or wholesaler who had a contract with the Senator's constituents was selling in Baltimore or Philadelphia or New York or some other place, at the spot price, the contract coal which should have gone to his people.

Mr. McLEAN. It appeared to us that there was collusion between the regular operators and the independents, as they were called. Has the Senator investigated that subject?

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, we have not gotten down to it. This is one of the most important things I ever tackled; and I want to say to my friend the Senator that the ramifications of this coal business, one "passing the buck" to the other, and, as Mr. Aitchison said before us, the crossing and double-crossing of the coal industry during the past summer, have been about the worst examples of defying the public and of giving improper information that have ever come to my knowledge.

Mr. McLEAN. Did the Senator's investigation go into the quality of the coal? I am getting complaints frequently that the coal that is being delivered in New England now is about 25 per cent slate.

Mr. CALDER. I will say to the Senator that we have had many complaints, and we have investigated some of them.

Mr. EDGE and Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. CALDER. I yield first to the junior Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. EDGE. Is not the query of the Senator from Connecticut partially answered, at least, by a realization of the fact that under the priority orders many of these independents were able to secure orders for cars to transport their coal, and, as I understand from the testimony before the committee, I think yesterday or the day before, the Interstate Commerce Commission is compelled by the present law to allocate certain cars to the smaller mines in certain proportions, and through that the independents were able to get a sufficient supply of coal in the retailers' hands to keep up these prices in the way he speaks of? There is not any question in the world, in my judgment, that there must be legislation giving the Federal Trade Commission considerably more power, if that is the board to handle the subject; and there must be some board, perhaps the Interstate Commerce Commission, in such a position that common sense and ordinary business judgment can be used rather than these automatic rules or laws, whatever they may be.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President—

Mr. CALDER. I yield to the senior Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I understand that the preliminary report of the Senator's committee provided for the standardiza-

tion of coal, did it not, the classification of coal through an inspection? Did it not recommend that?

Mr. CALDER. I do not think we went into that very fully. Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I will state, if it did not, that the bill which was presented to the Interstate Commerce Commission contemplated placing in a bureau of the Government or in the Geological Survey the inspection and standardization of coal by Government authorities.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me—

Mr. CALDER. With pleasure.

Mr. POMERENE. The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McLEAN] has referred to the exorbitant prices which were charged to consumers in the State of Connecticut. I may say that even in my own State, when the production of coal was certainly costing, including a reasonable profit, not to exceed \$4 per ton f. o. b. cars at the mine, it was retailing to the domestic consumer at eight and nine and ten and eleven dollars. The Senator from New York has just referred to the price that was paid by the War Department. I state these facts preliminary to this question:

Has not the committee found that in very many instances these exorbitant charges were being made as against domestic consumers and industrial consumers, as well as the War Department, at a time when Col. Wentz was contracting his coal, as he claims, at \$3.50 and \$4 per ton f. o. b. cars at the mine?

Mr. CALDER. Yes, sir. I will say to the Senator that in the great industrial centers in the East these industries, the public utilities, and the coal dealers, having contracts for their year's supply, were unable to obtain enough coal for their immediate needs, and were obtaining some, but were required to go out during certain months of the year when they had contracts for \$3.50 and \$4 a ton and pay as high as \$12, \$14, and \$15 to get enough coal for their immediate needs.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, the Senator from New York in the early part of his remarks on this subject made the statement that these difficulties were in part labor, in part strikes, and in part transportation. I think he is right about that; but, save during the time when this outlaw strike of the switchmen was in progress, it was my observation, after a considerable investigation, that the men who could not get transportation when they were paying a low price for coal could nearly always get transportation when they paid a high price for coal. Now, there may be some way of explaining that consistently with the high principles of common honesty, but I do not expect this committee to answer that question. I desire to call attention to another matter, if the Senator will permit me.

There has been a good deal of talk about the troubles growing out of the shipment of coal for the uplake region, and this has to some extent affected the price of coal in my section of the country. Will the Senator permit me to explain briefly?

Mr. CALDER. Certainly.

Mr. POMERENE. Ordinarily the shipment of coal up the Lakes begins at the opening of navigation, and there is a constant stream of these coal boats going up the Lakes laden with coal and coming down laden with iron. They always desire to have this coal taken up by the Lake route, because it is much cheaper than by the railroad route; but this switchmen's strike in the spring largely interfered with these shipments up the Lakes. Then an order was made by the Interstate Commerce Commission directing that a vast deal of the coal mined in Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and perhaps in West Virginia should be taken up to the Lake ports in order that it might be sent up by the Lake route, their intention being to supply the Ohio consumers and others in that vicinity later in the season, and they made an order to that effect, so that coal was sent up to the Lakes which ordinarily was not shipped up there. I say "ordinarily not shipped," for the reason that some of our coal in Ohio is too soft for storage purposes, and when it is stored and gets wet it heats, and we have spontaneous combustion; so that it is the harder variety of coal that is ordinarily shipped up the Lakes. Under this order a good deal of this soft coal, too soft for storage, was sent up the Lake routes, and in Ohio during the summer you could not get coal at any reasonable price for domestic purposes; and it further resulted in this situation: Many of these mines had contracted their coal to private industries at, let me say—I am not speaking accurately—\$4 per ton at the mouth of the mine, and under this order to ship it up-lakes these operators got \$5 a ton and over for the coal that went up-lakes, when it was all under contract to sell to these private industries at \$4 or less.

After this plan had been in operation for some time I was waited upon by a committee from the Chambers of Commerce of Akron and Canton. They had been in conference with the chamber of commerce in Cleveland, and later on they had some hearings, as a result of which the situation was to some extent remedied; but even in August, notwithstanding the experience which we had two years ago, there were from ten to eleven thousand cars of loaded coal on the sidetracks in Cleveland, which was the equivalent of about four days' shipping capacity of all the boats on the Lakes, and another 6,000 cars were en route between the mines and the Lakes for lake shipment. The result was that here were these cars standing idle for a period of nearly four days on the tracks in Cleveland, and the domestic consumer could not get coal, and under a proper regulation of this situation these cars could have been sent to the mines, reloaded, and sent to these various industrial centers where they needed coal for domestic purposes. I think those facts ought to be known, and we ought to have the benefit of them in our investigation of the subject.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, the information given by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE] to some degree was already known by the committee. These priority orders were issued and taken advantage of undoubtedly by some coal operators, and they worked just as the Senator has told us they did. The industries of his State, the household consumers, and the public utilities having contracts had their coal diverted under these priority orders, and they were compelled, despite the fact that they were covered by their contracts, to go out into the open market and buy spot coal, and were compelled to pay one, two, or three dollars, often five or six or ten dollars, higher for coal for their immediate needs.

Mr. McLEAN. Mr. President, does the Senator know whether the production of coal is running equal to the consumption now?

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, testimony before the committee yesterday indicated that the production of coal for this coal year, that is, the year beginning April 1 of this year and ending April 1 of next year, will be greater than in any year in the history of the country, and that the facilities are here for increasing that production at least 150,000,000 tons.

Mr. McLEAN. Then what is the real reason why we can not get coal in our section of the country? The situation is very serious there now. I had a communication from the city of Middletown last week telling me that they can not get coal at any price.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I think it is fair to say that the bituminous situation in the eastern part of the country has been somewhat relieved, but the anthracite situation is still very bad. We have had some hearings in New York on that, and the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. EDGE] came to me this morning and said he thought that we ought to direct our attention to relieving the anthracite situation in the East. He pointed out to me some letters he had, and I received some this morning from up-State counties in New York, which show that people are without fuel.

Mr. McLEAN. They consume both kinds, largely, in Connecticut, but a large percentage of the domestic consumption is of anthracite coal, and we can not get it at any price.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, I will say to the Senator from Connecticut that we have formed some acquaintance with this subject in the last few days. We have been told by these gentlemen that if there is anyone with a specific complaint they will take care of it. If the Senator will forward his letters to our office, we will pass them along and try to help the immediate needs of his people.

Mr. McLEAN. I would like to discover an instrumentality which can assist us in procuring some coal.

Mr. CALDER. We will try to help.

Mr. McLEAN. I assure the Senator that he will be blessed, or cursed, with a large number of appeals for coal.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. CALDER. I yield.

Mr. EDGE. As a member of that committee, following the very generous suggestion of the chairman of the committee, I am quite willing to join with him in helping in any possible way to secure that relief, but I think he should have his remarks clearly understood to refer, as possibly they did, to bituminous coal, soft coal. I think the situation so far as the soft-coal supply is concerned, according to the evidence before us, is such that there should be absolutely no difficulty in any part of the country to-day to have soft coal delivered at what would seem to be a fair price, and as a member of the committee I join with him and will be very glad to have concrete evidence sent to us, so that we can follow it up, if it refers to the soft coal, where difficulty is encountered in having delivery

or where the price seems to be out of proportion to the cost that has been established by the investigation of the committee.

The question of anthracite coal, however, is quite different, and there are very many more complexing situations in connection with it which have come to the committee, and I must say that up to the present moment the solution is not in sight so far as I have been able to find.

Mr. CALDER. The committee is thankful at last that it has actual and specific information as to selling prices and as to purchasers, and with this definite information it is to be hoped that pressure may be brought to bring prices of coal to a reasonable level.

The outstanding fact of the committee's investigations seems to be that the coal interests themselves have taken the matters in hand during the past season, have influenced the issuance of priority car-service orders and other Federal action, and that the public has lost, while those engaged in the coal industry have made extraordinary profits. Many of the bituminous coal operators have set a most unfortunate moral example to the industry of the country during a period in which there should have been moral reconstruction as well as physical reconstruction.

NATIONAL POLICY OF ECONOMY.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, in the recent election the voters of the country swept out of office a great number of Democrats, many of whom have been faithful public servants. Even Tennessee, Arizona, Oklahoma, Maryland, and Missouri added their protest against present conditions. It is, however, no time for elation on the part of the Republicans, to whom the people have so overwhelmingly turned. It is rather a time for caution. Our responsibility is grave. Our task is serious. We must put the country on a sound financial basis. Our foreign policy must be thoroughly American. Above all we must return to constitutional government and cast aside any and all autocratic practices, many of which doubtless were advisable or perhaps necessary during the war. If we practice economy, if we avoid entangling alliances, and if we are guided by the Constitution I have no question but that we shall deserve to remain in power and will remain a long time. If, however, we spend too much time in elation, abuse our power, and fail to perform that which the people expect, they will turn on us as they have on the Democratic Party. With the lessons of 1912 fresh in our minds I have no fear of division in our ranks. And I have no doubt of constructive results at the hands of the party of Abraham Lincoln, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Harding.

Let us look into some of our problems and their remedies. When war was declared in 1917 we had in the executive departments in Washington a total of 32,000 employees. A year and a half later, at the time of the signing of the armistice, we had 117,000 employees. In a year the Republican Congress, though the executive branch was still Democratic, cut this number to 87,000. After two years of actual if not technical peace we still have 55,000 more employees in Washington than when the war began. Within the next six months we should further greatly reduce the total, and by the end of the present fiscal year we should, if it is at all possible, return to the prewar basis.

The Bureau of War Risk to-day has on its rolls in the National Capital 6,313 employees, as compared to 15,000 a year ago and 17,000 18 months ago. During the fiscal year it is costing the Government \$125,000,000 for the payment of military and naval insurance, \$10,324,000 for salaries and expenses, and \$46,000,000 for the taking over of hospitals. Meanwhile the bureau is giving out the information that it has received gross applications numbering 4,655,916 and amounting in risk to \$40,414,715,500. These are stupendous figures and would greatly impress us with the usefulness of the bureau did we not stop to examine them. The facts are that only 300,000 who have been honorably discharged from the service are still paying voluntarily on \$1,740,000,000 of the original war risks included in the \$40,414,715,500, and 200,000 now in the service are involuntarily paying on \$990,000,000 on the risks in the grand total applied for. Ninety per cent of our soldiers, sailors, and marines who in the first instance took out war-risk policies provided by the Government were not sufficiently interested in them to keep up their payments and were therefore dropped. Five per cent of these have been influenced by the bureau as the result of large expenditure of money and energy to convert their policies to life insurance handled by the Government which would otherwise be handled by private companies outside of the Government. Thus, the Government, as it has a right to do under the law, to-day holds in risks of this kind 237,411 policies amounting to \$749,145,000 in risk. Of this total \$125,503,000 is in ordinary life policies, \$233,146,000 in 20-year endowment policies, \$270,863,000 in 20-year payment life policies, \$48,359,500 in 30-year endowment policies, \$41,010,000

in endowment policies paid up at the age of 62, and \$30,252,000 in 30-year payment life insurance policies.

If such a large proportion of men have abandoned Government insurance, is it not fair to conclude that the bureau is a failure? Certainly the Government should not go into the insurance business at a loss, any more than the railroad, the telephone, or the telegraph business. The insurance should, however, be continued for those who care to keep it up; but I can see no reason why the War Risk should not be abolished and all of its functions turned over to the Pension Office. The good of the bureau thus would be retained and much expense done away with. Then, in accord with Republican policy throughout two generations, we should continue to assist those disabled in the service and their dependents. Many millions would be saved for the taxpayers and at the same time a policy would be continued which has always been proven fair and beneficial. At least one-half of the present cost—ten millions—would be saved.

Other bureaus in Washington are swelled out of all proportion to what they should be. One of these is the Bureau of Loans and Currency in the Treasury Department. In 1917 this bureau employed 40 people. It now has 2,000 on the pay roll. By simplification of method most of these could be done away with. All of the auditors for the various departments should be centered under one head, as is contemplated in the budget bill. They now employ 2,402 clerks. In the War Department auditing 1,057 are engaged, some of them on claims for horses stolen or bales of cotton burned during the War of 1812. The Bureau of Engraving and Printing has 7,213 clerks at work on activities growing out of the war, which should be rapidly completed. In the State Department 120 clerks are issuing passports, due entirely to the ludicrous fact that we are still legally at war with the long since defunct German Empire. The Public Health Service, placed upon a military basis, has here 2,000 clerks who stumble over each other in their efforts to keep up the friction of the technical conflict in which we are still engaged. The Adjutant General has about 3,000 clerks employed in the largest filing job in the world, but it is not to be expected that this will last forever. The work should be completed, the vast array of clerks discharged, and the number brought to the limit before the war. With the completion of the census 2,000 more clerks should, of course, disappear. Several bureaus overlap in their activities. Thus the Bureau of Mines and the Bureau of Standards are making the same investigation of heat treatment in improving the quality of steel. Thus also the Bureau of Education, the Woman's Bureau, the Children's Bureau, the Public Health Service, the Census Office, and the Department of Agriculture overlap in many instances. These facts and figures are only a part of the evidence of the crying need for the strictest sort of economy in order to bring us back to a businesslike conduct of the Government.

One of the evidences of waste and extravagance is provided by what is known as the Reclassification Commission, which has had for its noble purpose the rearrangement on a more equitable basis of the salaries of Government clerks. On this commission the President named two former Representatives of his own party in Congress—Mr. Keating, of Colorado, and Mr. Hamlin, of Missouri—and one Republican, Mr. Cooper, of Wisconsin, who has since been reelected. These estimable gentlemen spent \$75,000 of the people's money and made a directory classification, which has failed in Chicago and every other municipality where tried. No great business enterprise would think of establishing a wooden standard of classification and remuneration for every place in its employ. Yet from the Reclassification Commission we have a voluminous report, which has all the appearance of presenting the details of a Chinese civil service.

No Member of either branch of Congress has more sympathy for the just grievances of the underpaid Government clerk than I have. When I see a man in charge of the sale of our public timberlands, and with many millions of dollars intrusted to his hands, receiving \$1,800 per annum, and when I see the Assistant Chief of the Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants in the Treasury Department, with all of his first-hand knowledge of Government accounts, gathered through years of faithful service, receiving \$2,500 a year, I know that something is wrong. Whatever rearrangement is made should be upon a plan that will make for increased efficiency and more business activity in the departments. Certainly something should be done to remedy flagrant inequalities and inadequacies in Government salaries.

It seems to me that a practicable idea would be to separate the clerks into several grades. For each of these grades there would be a stated salary. Thus, a person doing janitorial work in each of the departments or commissions would receive the same stipend. And so each class of clerical work could be

conveniently graded. And thus, also, with scientific investigators, the most capable of whom should receive \$3,500 per annum. Each grade should be so comprehensive for its class of work that about 15 of them would cover the entire Government service. Each should have possibility of promotion to a figure \$500 above that at appointment. If Congress, under the necessity of economy, felt the need of effecting only one grade at a time it could do so without prejudice to the others. The entire plan would be comprehensive and flexible and do justice to the Government service.

Some glaring anomalies of our Government departments from a business point of view are well known. In the Treasury Department, which should have to do solely with our fiscal affairs, we find the Coast Guard, the Public Health Service, the Supervising Architect's Office, and the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. In the Department of Agriculture we find the Bureau of Public Roads, while the Reclamation Service is in the Department of the Interior. Outside of executive departments we find 40 boards, commissions, offices, and bureaus which have no supervision except from Congress. In other words, a good deal of the executive functioning of the Government is illogically and wastefully organized. All of the agencies for the internal physical improvement of the country, such as the river and harbor work, the construction and maintenance of public buildings and grounds, reclamation projects, public roads, inland waterways, and water power, should be part of a new department of public works. The Children's Bureau, the Public Health Service, the Bureau of Education, and kindred activities should be brought together in a department of social welfare.

I know of no more outrageous violation of business principles in the conduct of the Government than the extraordinary extravagance and waste practiced in the United States Shipping Board. In that remarkably inefficient organization 7,800 employees remain of those who assisted in throwing away two billions of the people's money. Where it all went an investigation is seeking to discover. At enormous expense the United States built up during and immediately following the war a merchant marine which is given by Lloyd's for June 30, 1920, at 16,049,000 tons, as compared with 4,330,000 tons in 1914. A tragedy lies in the fact that while we have been bungling and bickering about means to promote our commercial fleets Great Britain is regaining her shipping lost during the submarine warfare to such an extent that to-day her dead-weight tonnage is estimated at 20,582,000, as compared with 20,523,000 in 1914. This Congress has already laid down broad lines along which the efficiency of our merchant marine may be improved. It has provided that all our ships under Government operation be turned over eventually to private ownership; that none shall be sold to an alien or operated under a foreign flag. It has granted special concessions to those who operate to certain ports and thereby extend our markets, and it has provided that some shall be kept in special condition for transport use in time of war. It should become one of the chief aims of our Republican administration to immediately turn over to private ownership all Government-owned vessels, to make America first in the number of ships and the tonnage of her merchant marine, and one of its first acts should be to rescue or sell the *Leviathan*, resting and rusting in New York Harbor, and many other ships, a condition not prevalent in England.

Unless we have a selling organization in the ports of the world all this immense investment which we have in the merchant marine will go for naught. We should have, as England has, in every mart of the world, either through the consuls or the ministers or the legations, agencies to promote the carrying in American ships of the cargoes that are sent out from those ports.

Let us consider briefly the opportunity we have presented us to expand our world trade and the advantage that can accrue to the United States in making our governmental departments more efficient for that purpose.

To understand the full import of our trade possibilities we must compare our foreign commerce with that of Great Britain. At the end of the calendar year ending December 30, 1913, our imports amounted to \$1,792,596,480, and those of Great Britain to \$3,741,047,607. During the same period our exports totaled \$2,484,018,292, and those of Great Britain \$3,089,353,116. For the year 1919 our exports were \$7,920,425,990 and those of Great Britain, \$4,688,311,525. Our imports were \$3,904,364,932 and Britain's \$7,913,689,206. The great preponderance in England's imports over exports in 1919 was due to heavy drafts of raw materials to feed her manufactures after the armistice and her inability to turn them into finished products for exportation in time to be reported before the close of the year. During the first eight months of 1920 our imports were \$3,995,178,060, as

compared with \$6,560,876,138 for Great Britain, and during the same period our exports were \$5,478,306,718, as compared with \$5,143,549,831 for Great Britain. If we consider only Britain's domestic exports and not those passing through the country, we find that we exceed the export commerce of Great Britain in 1919 by nearly \$4,000,000,000. On the other hand, Europe's temporarily accentuated dearth of food has been our gain. The percentage of agricultural products in our exports for the calendar year 1919 was 52.4 and for the first 10 months of 1920 was 42.9. Our manufactured products constituted 44.9 per cent of the total exports of 1919 and 51.3 per cent of those of the first 10 months of 1920. England's exports are almost entirely manufactures. Hence thanksgiving for our grand export total should give way to serious consideration of the problem of stimulating our manufactures by securing new foreign markets for them.

It is true that New York has replaced London as the banking center of the world and that we have supplanted England as the first trading nation of the earth. Our ocean carriers have grown in three short years so that now we are within striking distance of her tonnage. We are the greatest producing nation on the globe. By training 4,800,000 men and sending 2,000,000 troops across the sea to win every battle in which they were engaged and turn the tide, we have made Washington the capital of the world. Our wealth, which before the war exceeded the combined opulence of the British and German Empires, has gone on by leaps and bounds. The Romanoff, Hapsburg, and Hohenzollern dynasties, which overawed weak nations for centuries, have disappeared and ideas of republican government are permeating the world.

Yet this seeming great prosperity and progress have grown out of abnormal world conditions. With the return of the peoples everywhere to normalcy, it becomes imperative that we repeal unwise tariff laws and rescind unwholesome fiscal practices. The people must realize the necessity of work. As we promised in the campaign, we must have more business in the conduct of the Government and less government in the conduct of business. We must stop governmental leaks, hold to rigid economy, and adopt not only a scientific tariff law, but a scientific method of securing foreign trade.

It would be the height of folly not to protect the progress we have thus far made, our commerce, our wealth, and our institutions with a navy adequate to meet in time of emergency any great enemy. National ambitions have not been lessened by the World War. Jealousies prompted by trade rivalry may lead to conflict unless our force is sufficient to compel respect and maintain peace.

When other nations are developing their building programs it would be suicidal for us to permit our Navy to become second rate. We have been informed by Representative BRITTEN, of Illinois, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 1 last, that by 1923 we shall have a sea force greater than the combined fleets of the British Empire. Our Naval Intelligence, he says, has brought forth figures to show that we have 33 battleships and battle cruisers built and building, while Great Britain has 35 ships of the same character. We are said to have a total tonnage of 1,118,650 as compared with 884,000 for England, an advantage of 8,638 tons per ship. In main batteries we are supposed to have 340 guns to 314 for the British. Our guns will average 14½ inches in caliber as compared to 13½ inches for theirs. In a broadside we hurl 548,400 pounds as against 452,000 pounds. In the secondary battery our guns will number 494 to Britain's 526. But ours have 5.4 inches caliber while hers have 4.9 inches. It is stated that we throw 40,158 pounds of projectiles as compared to 32,080 pounds. It is presented as fact that in 1923 in one volley from all our guns we shall throw 588,638 pounds of steel as against Britain's 484,080 pounds. We are to have 322 destroyers to 350 for Britain, but ours are to be superior in speed and more up to date, so the story goes. In submarines we are to be equal, and in that field American ingenuity is to throw the weight on our side.

Mr. President, in that connection I desire to insert in the RECORD the figures from Naval Intelligence to prove the statements I have made.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, permission is granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

Comparison of United States and British Navies capital ships launched 1905 to 1920, inclusive, and ships building or authorized, 1920.

GREAT BRITAIN.

No.	Year and name.	Type.	Normal displacement.	Speed.	Main battery.	Secondary battery.	Weight of one main broadside.	Weight of secondary broadside.	Total weight of broadside.
				<i>Knots.</i>			<i>Pounds.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>	<i>Pounds.</i>
1	1909. Neptune.....	Battleship.....	20,200	21.00	10 12-inch.....	20 4-inch.....	8,500	500	9,000
2	1910. Colossus.....	Battleship.....	20,600	21.00	10 12-inch.....	16 4-inch.....	8,500	400	8,900
3	Heracles.....	do.....	20,600	21.00	do.....	do.....	8,500	400	8,900
4	Orion.....	do.....	22,500	21.00	10 13.5-inch.....	do.....	12,500	400	12,900
5	Lion.....	Battle cruiser.....	26,350	23.00	8 13.5-inch.....	do.....	10,000	400	10,400
6	1911. Thunderer.....	Battleship.....	22,500	21.00	10 13.5-inch.....	16 4-inch.....	12,500	400	12,900
7	Monarch.....	do.....	22,500	21.00	do.....	do.....	12,500	400	12,900
8	Conqueror.....	do.....	22,500	21.00	do.....	do.....	12,500	400	12,900
9	King George V.....	do.....	25,000	21.00	do.....	20 4-inch.....	14,000	500	14,500
10	Centurian.....	do.....	25,000	21.00	do.....	do.....	14,000	500	14,500
11	New Zealand.....	Battle cruiser.....	18,750	26.00	8 12-inch.....	do.....	6,800	500	7,300
12	Princess Royal.....	do.....	26,350	28.00	8 13.5-inch.....	16 4-inch.....	10,000	400	10,400
13	Australia.....	do.....	18,800	26.00	8 12-inch.....	14 4-inch.....	6,800	350	7,150
14	1912. Ajax.....	Battleship.....	25,000	21.00	10 13.5-inch.....	20 4-inch.....	14,000	500	14,500
15	Marlborough.....	do.....	25,000	21.00	do.....	12 3-inch.....	14,000	1,200	15,200
16	Iron Duke.....	do.....	25,000	21.00	do.....	do.....	14,000	1,200	15,200
17	1913. Agincourt.....	Battleship.....	27,500	22.00	14 12-inch.....	20 6-inch.....	11,900	2,000	13,900
18	Erin.....	do.....	23,000	21.00	10 13.5-inch.....	16 6-inch.....	14,000	1,600	15,600
19	Canada.....	do.....	28,000	22.75	10 14-inch.....	12 6-inch.....	14,000	1,200	15,200
20	Benbow.....	do.....	25,000	21.00	10 13.5-inch.....	do.....	14,000	1,200	15,200
21	Emperor of India.....	do.....	25,000	21.00	do.....	do.....	14,000	1,200	15,200
22	Warspite.....	do.....	27,500	25.00	8 15-inch.....	do.....	15,600	1,200	16,800
23	Queen Elizabeth.....	do.....	27,500	25.00	do.....	do.....	15,600	1,200	16,800
24	Tiger.....	Battle cruiser.....	28,500	28.00	8 13.5-inch.....	do.....	10,000	1,200	11,200
25	1914. Valiant.....	Battleship.....	27,500	25.00	8 15-inch.....	12 6-inch.....	15,600	1,200	16,800
26	Barham.....	do.....	27,500	25.00	do.....	do.....	15,600	1,200	16,800
27	Royal Oak.....	do.....	25,750	23.00	do.....	14 6-inch.....	15,600	1,400	17,000
28	1915. Revenge.....	Battleship.....	25,750	23.00	8 15-inch.....	14 6-inch.....	15,600	1,400	17,000
29	Royal Sovereign.....	do.....	25,750	23.00	do.....	do.....	15,600	1,400	17,000
30	Malaya.....	do.....	27,500	25.00	do.....	12 6-inch.....	15,600	1,200	16,800
31	1916. Resolution.....	Battleship.....	25,750	23.00	8 15-inch.....	14 6-inch.....	15,600	1,400	17,000
32	Ramillies.....	do.....	25,750	23.00	do.....	do.....	15,600	1,400	17,000
33	Repulse.....	Battle cruiser.....	26,500	31.00	6 15-inch.....	17 4-inch.....	11,700	425	12,125
34	Renown.....	do.....	26,500	31.00	do.....	do.....	11,700	425	12,125
35	1918. Hood.....	Battle cruiser.....	41,200	31.00	8 15-inch.....	12 5.5-inch.....	15,600	1,380	16,980

The term "broadside" as used here signifies one discharge from all guns and not from the guns of one side only. The year given is the year in which the ships were launched.

Comparison of United States and British Navies capital ships launched 1905 to 1920, inclusive, and ships building or authorized, 1920—Continued.

UNITED STATES.

No.	Year and name.	Type.	Normal displacement.	Speed.	Main battery.	Secondary battery.	Weight of one main broadside.	Weight of secondary broadside.	Total weight of broadside.
1	1908. North Dakota.	Battleship.	20,000	Knots. 21.01	10 12-inch, 45 caliber.	14 5-inch, 51 caliber.	Pounds. 8,700	Pounds. 1,080	Pounds. 9,780
2	1909. Delaware.	Battleship.	20,000	21.56	10 12-inch, 45 caliber.	16 5-inch, 51 caliber.	8,700	1,080	9,780
3	Utah.	do.	21,825	21.04	do.	do.	8,700	1,008	9,708
4	1910. Florida.	Battleship.	21,825	22.08	10 12-inch, 45 caliber.	16 5-inch, 51 caliber.	8,700	1,008	9,708
5	1911. Arkansas.	Battleship.	26,000	21.05	12 12-inch, 50 caliber.	16 5-inch, 51 caliber.	10,440	1,008	11,448
6	Wyoming.	do.	26,000	21.22	do.	do.	10,440	1,008	11,448
7	1912. New York.	Battleship.	27,000	21.47	10 14-inch, 45 caliber.	16 6-inch, 51 caliber.	14,000	1,008	15,008
8	Texas.	do.	27,000	21.05	do.	do.	14,000	1,008	15,008
9	1914. Nevada.	Battleship.	27,500	20.53	10 14-inch, 45 caliber.	12 5-inch, 51 caliber.	14,000	756	14,756
10	Oklahoma.	do.	27,500	20.58	do.	do.	14,000	756	14,756
11	1915. Arizona.	Battleship.	31,400	21.00	12 14-inch, 45 caliber.	14 5-inch, 51 caliber.	16,800	882	17,682
12	Pennsylvania.	do.	31,400	21.05	do.	do.	16,800	882	17,682
13	1917. Mississippi.	Battleship.	32,000	21.00	12 14-inch, 50 caliber.	14 5-inch, 51 caliber.	16,800	882	17,682
14	Idaho.	do.	32,000	21.00	do.	do.	16,800	882	17,682
15	New Mexico.	do.	32,000	21.08	do.	do.	16,800	882	17,682
16	1919. California.	Battleship.	32,300	21.00	12 14-inch, 50 caliber.	14 5-inch, 51 caliber.	16,800	882	17,682
17	Tennessee.	do.	32,300	21.00	do.	do.	16,800	882	17,682
18	1920. Maryland.	Battleship.	32,600	21.00	8 16-inch, 45 caliber.	14 5-inch, 51 caliber.	16,800	882	17,682
NOT YET LAUNCHED— AUTHORIZED 1916.									
19	Colorado.	Battleship.	32,600	21.00	8 16-inch, 45 caliber.	14 5-inch, 51 caliber.	16,800	882	17,682
20	Washington.	do.	32,600	21.00	do.	do.	16,800	882	17,682
21	West Virginia.	do.	32,600	21.00	do.	do.	16,800	882	17,682
22	Constellation.	Battle cruiser.	43,500	33.25	8 16-inch, 50 caliber.	16 6-inch, 53 caliber.	16,800	1,728	18,528
23	Lexington.	do.	43,500	33.25	do.	do.	16,800	1,728	18,528
24	Ranger.	do.	43,500	33.25	do.	do.	16,800	1,728	18,528
25	Saratoga.	do.	43,500	33.25	do.	do.	16,800	1,728	18,528
26	Indiana.	Battleship.	43,200	23.00	12 16-inch, 50 caliber.	do.	25,200	1,728	26,928
27	Montana.	do.	43,200	23.00	do.	do.	25,200	1,728	26,928
28	South Dakota.	do.	43,200	23.00	do.	do.	25,200	1,728	26,928
29	Constitution.	Battle cruiser.	43,500	33.25	8 16-inch, 50 caliber.	do.	16,800	1,728	18,528
30	Iowa.	Battleship.	33,200	23.00	12 16-inch, 50 caliber.	do.	25,200	1,728	26,928
31	Massachusetts.	do.	43,200	23.00	do.	do.	25,200	1,728	26,928
32	North Carolina.	do.	43,200	23.00	do.	do.	25,200	1,728	26,928
33	United States.	Battle cruiser.	43,500	33.25	8 16-inch, 50 caliber.	do.	16,800	1,728	18,528

	United States.		Great Britain.		United States over Great Britain.			
	Total.	Average per ship.	Total.	Average per ship.	Total.	Per cent.	Average per ship.	Per cent.
Number of ships.....	33		35					
Tonnage.....	1,118,050	33,898½	884,100	25,260	234,550	26.5	8,638	34.2
Speed, knots, average.		23.64		23.68				
Main battery:								
Size—								
12-inch guns.....	64		60					
13½-inch guns.....			144					
14-inch guns.....	124		10					
15-inch guns.....			100					
16-inch guns.....	152							
Guns.....	340	10.3	314	8.97	26			
Size per gun, inches.		14.5		13½				
Weight, in pounds, of 1 main broadside.....	548,400	16,618	452,000	12,914	96,400	21.3	3,704	28.7
Secondary battery:								
Size—								
4-inch guns.....			276					
5-inch guns.....	302		12					
5½-inch guns.....			238					
6-inch guns.....	192							
Guns.....	494	14.9	526	15.0				
Size per gun, inches.		5.4		4.9				
Weight, in pounds, of 1 secondary broadside.....								
Combined weight, in pounds, of 1 broadside.....	40,158	1,216½	32,080	916½	8,078	25.2	300	33.7
	588,638	17,837½	484,080	13,831	104,558	21.6	4,006	29.0

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. If only approximately correct, these figures are astounding. They would tend to prove that we have revolutionized the naval power of the world. But if these ships are not properly manned by efficiently trained men the figures I have related mean nothing. What we need is sea power enough to protect all that we are, all that we have, and all that we do. Yet the figures I have quoted indicate an enormous burden upon the people, not only of our own country but of England as well. During the past fiscal year our naval appropriations amounted to \$438,000,000. I am in favor of proposals by this Government to both Britain and Japan that their naval forces and ours be disarmed pro rata.

At this time I wish to say to the Senate that I not only want disarmament of sea power but I want disarmament of air power as well. If we are to enter into an agreement to disarm, every effective agency for war should be disarmed.

Let me point out to the Senate that, while there seems to be a halting at the present time in England's naval program, I understand that her naval program for the coming year greatly exceeds any that we contemplate.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from New Jersey yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I yield.

Mr. KNOX. I desire to ask the Senator from New Jersey what will it profit if we proceed to disarm in the sense that we cease to build battleships, and cease to operate arsenals, and cease to manufacture artillery, if we permit Germany to go on with her great productive capacity for chemical armament, which the last war has demonstrated to be the efficient armament of the future?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The Senator from Pennsylvania well knows my views upon that question. Under the camouflage

of a peace industry there lies the greatest propelling force for war. When a government may not make a pound of powder or a tank of chemical gas unless she has a thoroughly established dye industry, I think it is the height of folly to allow the destruction in this country of an industry of that character.

We can not lessen our armament unless they do likewise. Our future safety on both Atlantic and Pacific demand this. War with either of them is unthinkable. With England we are one in language and law. With Japan we are participants in a harmonious relationship, which has existed since Perry landed there in 1854. Yet for us to disarm without them would be nothing less than foolhardy. Let negotiations be opened to the end that the three great possible rivals of the future may by disarming set an example to the other nations of the world.

As a people we are faced with a tremendous responsibility. We must husband our resources. We must be content with nothing less than to be the greatest Nation of all time, not in dominion or merely in wealth but in service to mankind. This service, however, does not consist in yielding our sovereignty, but in developing this Nation to the utmost so as to reveal to an even greater extent what liberty may do under republican institutions. We have just concluded in this country two great moral reforms. By one we have suppressed the liquor traffic and by the other we have admitted that the intelligence and character of women are needed at the ballot box no less than those of men. I doubt if the earnest men and women who brought about those reforms will be content with anything short of another triumph. I think they will now turn to the elimination of the greatest blot on our American civilization at the present time—the prevalence of ignorance as indicated by our statistics of illiteracy. From the time when in 1635 the Dutch in New Amsterdam provided for elementary schools at public expense and Harvard College was founded in 1636 we have gone on building until we have thought that we had provided for universal free education. But the 8,000,000 of those who can not read and write the English language, augmented by the million who came to our shores every year until the World War from other countries, gave us reason to pause. That war brought out the astonishing fact that 24.5 per cent of our enlisted men could not read a newspaper or write to those at home. Vast numbers of immigrants from southern Europe and from Russia and Poland have come here with antigovernment ideas and without any knowledge of our language or the spirit of our institutions, and we have had in consequence May Day outrages, I. W. W. depredations, and the killing and maiming of the innocent by bomb throwers who have had no other thought than insult to our form of government.

The new Republican administration must face this problem and meet it with practical and permanent remedy. It can not admit to the country those who will not assimilate our customs and who are hostile not only to our Government but to every form of government. The States have made great progress in education. During the past generation public schools have multiplied until now there is scarcely a place where free education can not be had. There are, however, some States which have not kept pace with the educational movement. I fear that some of them under one form or another are seeking Federal help, which, translated, means help from other States. It should not be necessary to offer any State a bounty to stamp out illiteracy. As for the Federal Government, we must remember that the public school is our melting pot. It is the crucible in which we assimilate foreign-born children and the children of the foreign born.

If we admit aliens faster than they can be assimilated, we jeopardize our own institutions. We must therefore devise ways and means whereby we will not admit immigrants faster than they can be assimilated. While we now exclude anarchists, it may become necessary to be more watchful and to make certain that we are not admitting those who, while they are not anarchists, do not believe in our form of government. We have a right to change our Government, but no altruistic spirit should lead us to admit those who are bent on changing our form at the first opportunity. I recognize that there is agitation in favor of vast Federal contributions to education. The Federal Government can not afford, however, to meet expenses which the States should meet. It is not only bad economically but fundamentally. We have promised the people a return to constitutional government and we should be true to our promise. Encroachment on State rights should stop. There is much we can do in our field; that is, in the field of immigration. We must be more careful than ever that undesirables be excluded, and we must consider the subject not only from the political aspect but also from the economic and intellectual. We must

be just to ourselves, to capital, to labor, and to the schools. Too great a task can not and should not be placed on the schools. It is simply suicidal to admit immigrants faster than the schools can assimilate them, and the subject of assimilation should receive most careful study.

Some of the cities in my State can not get enough teachers and sufficient school facilities to take care of the increasing population. When we realize that that condition exists practically all over the country, we can readily appreciate that it is one of the important problems that must be considered, as well as the question of immigration.

I feel quite sure that many are very anxious to have unskilled labor without limit enter the country. Such unskilled labor may cause a reduction in wages and also a reduction in the cost of living, but if we can not assimilate them, and if many of them, as I suspect, have no regard for any government, they will ultimately, instead of proving an asset, prove a menace.

The subject must be studied carefully and should not be put lightly aside. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and we should look to the self-preservation of our children, as well as to that of the present generation. We do not want the country to totter 20 years from now, even though at the present moment the cause of such tottering might appear to be beneficial to capital and incidentally reduce the cost of living of all. Better to let the cost of living stay a little higher than to introduce poison.

The farmers of the country, having seen their land values and the market figures of their wheat and other produce go to unprecedented figures, are dissatisfied with falling prices and want something done to put a stop to the decline. I have hearty sympathy with the cultivator of the soil who wrested his crop out of toil and worry and at high costs and then sees himself facing loss. But the farmer is suffering a decline in price as likewise are the manufacturer and other producers of raw and finished material. He must not ask Congress to keep up his prices and demand that the price of the articles he has had to buy be brought down. Nor should he in his discouragement at the falling prices for foodstuffs seek to do away with boards of trade and cotton exchanges because of a belief that they are entirely the cause of his distress. Yet these exchanges should, through regulation, be confined to the useful functions of distribution and exchange and not as agencies to exploit the product of the farmers' toil by gambling in futures and cornering the market for foodstuffs. The farmer must be protected against these uneconomic practices.

Everything must be done to stimulate the farming industry and encourage our farmers to continue production. Much has been done in this direction. They have the parcels post, rural free delivery, farm loan banks, better roads, and telephones. Life on the farm is much more livable than formerly. Our American farmers have enjoyed during the period since the World War in 1914 a greater prosperity than ever before. But they have had a serious setback. By wise governmental policies this temporary setback can be overcome. We must at all hazards maintain healthy prosperity, but not by keeping up fictitious prices created during a time of greatest demand and during a saturnalia of inflation. We should protect farmers and their standard of living by a tariff which will keep out foreign products grown under cheaper conditions, and this should be done at once. And then we should work out a national policy of benefit to the farmers generally, north and south. When the McKinley administration came into power in 1897, Secretary of Agriculture Wilson conceived the idea of bringing from abroad everything grown there and cultivating it here so that we might in any emergency be self-sustaining. As the result of that policy we have our navel oranges; our beet-sugar industry, producing a billion pounds annually; our rice industry, producing enormous quantities annually in Louisiana and Texas; and our date industry in the Southwest.

What the farmers now need is to be guided further in every improvement possible in the raising of their crops, to be assisted in marketing, to be protected from foreign competition in our own market, and to make it easier for them to finance themselves. We already have the farm loan bank. This should be supplemented by the home loan bank and by long and short term credits through extension of the warehouse act, so that they may be enabled to realize sooner on their crop by being able to borrow further after warehousing their product, their paper being consolidated through a general system provided but not supported by the Government. Dairy and other farming of a certain kind, such as found in New Jersey, should be standardized, such as the citrus-fruit industry in California. Cooperative marketing like that of the dairy farmers of New York State should be encouraged. This

enables them to do away with the middle man to an extent which redounds to their benefit. Waste in production and marketing should be eliminated. Last year \$3,000,000 was lost by the apple shippers of the Northwest in transit on the railroads. Preventable losses in cotton marketing are estimated at \$50,000,000 a year and in sweet-potato growing at \$25,000,000 a year. National standards for farm products, based upon national standards of weights and measures, supplemented by Government inspection, should be adopted. The facilities for supplying the farmers everywhere with reliable market information should be extended to the utmost. What we need now more than anything else in the relation between the Department of Agriculture and the farmer is the purpose of utilizing all energy to the end of production of the highest quality as well as the utmost quantity. Our farmers must be enabled to produce at even less cost and to sell in the highest market obtainable. They should become as efficient in soil chemistry as the Germans were before the conflict.

We have another even greater problem to solve, which should not be beyond American ingenuity or the constructive genius of the Republican Party. The Department of Labor should be reorganized and socialism eliminated. The powers of the adjustment service should be extended. Encouragement should be given to the Woman's Bureau, which has for its purpose the betterment of working conditions among women in industry to the end, among other advantages, that women and men may have equal pay for equal work. It is useless to deny that we are in the midst of an at least temporarily serious industrial depression, and it will be necessary to encourage and possibly extend the United States Employment Service.

Two million wage earners are out of employment. To help offset this condition, we must enact a tariff law which will cover the difference between the cost of production here and abroad, which will not only stimulate our manufacturers but protect our labor and its standards, not forgetting to enact laws which will prevent the destruction of those industries which have been wrested from Germany and established during the war and which were nonexistent prior to the war, among which are the dye industry, the laboratory glass and surgical instrument industries. The dye industry is vitally essential from an economic standpoint, but absolutely necessary from the standpoint of national preparedness. The man or men who place obstacles in the way of supporting it and encourage domination by Germany in this field have learned no lesson of the great sacrifices we have made by being scientifically unprepared. I know of nothing more shortsighted than the present tendency on the part of many manufacturers to utilize the dull period in business to make war on the labor unions under the guise of a movement for the "open shop," wherein it means a shop closed to union organization. Labor unions have done much to bring about better hours and wages and better working conditions. Wage earners have the same right to organize for their own good as manufacturers and business men generally have to organize for their own benefit. The great body of our workmen deprecate such criminal measures as have been practiced by the I. W. W. and the Western Federation of Miners and such crooked methods as adopted by the building-trade leaders in New York City. Such menaces must be prevented, and labor unions must help to wash their hands of them. But the Republican Party when entering upon the full power of conducting the Government should remind our manufacturers that they must not judge our entire American labor movement by the hot-heads and radicals, and should likewise remind our wage earners that American business is not to be judged by the reactionaries who would entirely suppress the right of labor to organize. There is, however, a limit to which even labor organization should be allowed to go. If through the power of combination any set of men should prevent the people from having fuel or transportation; if, in order to enforce demands which an impartial tribunal created by the Government believes unfair, they imperil the safety and existence of the people at large and make starvation and freezing imminent, then the full power of the Government should be exercised to prevent them, or the Government is a failure.

There is a middle ground or method by which we may harness the vast energies of American labor and the productive might of American capital to the task of making America supreme among all the nations of the world in productive capacity. When we find that method we shall be fully prepared to lead the greatest commercial revival in history, soon to follow upon the present period of liquidation, for the energies of the earth have been quickened by war and those energies will be turned to commerce, as they always have after the period of readjustment following every war we have had. The principle of collective bargaining should be acknowledged in interstate

commerce, but unions should live up to their agreements when made. The fallacy that labor creates value and that labor is therefore entitled to the full return on the value it creates, which is the basis of most of our socialistic propaganda, should be met with education as to the real part which both labor and capital play in industry and as to the worth of initiative in our institutions. The Department of Labor should not be conducted as an adjunct of the American Federation of Labor nor as a vehicle for the views of those who favor nonunion labor entirely. It should be administered for the benefit of all our wage earners everywhere, and the Republican Party should make it its policy to so utilize it that in the four years to come it will actually better working conditions and at the same time assist in the upbuilding of the prosperity and efficiency of American industry.

While our total indebtedness is \$24,330,889,731, our Liberty and Victory bond war debt on June 30 last amounted to \$19,581,201,450. Less the \$9,445,006,855 we loaned to our foreign allies, and nevertheless owe the American people, because we borrowed it from them, we owe \$10,136,194,595. By act of Congress provision was made for payment into a sinking fund of an amount equal to the sum of 2½ per cent of the total Liberty and Victory loans, less an amount equal to the par of the obligation of foreign Governments held by the United States on July 1. By this \$235,000,000 will be paid each year and in 25 years the debt will be wiped out. This refunding provision should be so extended as to include the entire war debt.

I can not understand the methods of the Treasury Department which have permitted approximately \$1,000,000,000 due under the corporation assessment of 1917, to go uncollected and even unadjudicated to the present moment. Many of the corporations from whom this money is due will probably not be disposed to question the claim of the Government against them provided it is proven most of the arrears are the result of mistakes in making the returns. Solely through laxity and delay they have not been brought into the Treasury. Steps should be taken to enforce payment so that the statute of limitations will not relieve corporations which owe the money of paying it at all. Certainly not the least of the burdens of the war upon the American people has been incompetency.

While 500 employees of the Government in Washington have been engaged in this particular task of collection, the plain truth is that our Federal methods have not kept pace with those of private enterprise, and the salaries paid by the Government for the same sort of technical services have fallen far behind those our great corporations are in the habit of paying. Yet, I am ready to admit that the Treasury Department can not hope to compete in this respect. We can meet the problem only by a system of employing and training the best in the world of accounting, drawing them to our offices here for a few years for the sake of the certificate of experience in and approval of the Government, which would enable them to gain even larger compensation in private activity than they otherwise would receive. This is true of technical service not only in the Treasury but in all of our executive departments.

We should, it seems to me, remedy our entire present fiscal arrangements by taking the tax from small incomes, removing the surplus-profits tax and surtaxes, and at the same time by gaining more revenue by a protective tariff and by a tax on manufacturers' sales. For rendering less complicated our entire fiscal affairs the enactment of the budget system is vital.

Our Post Office Department should be overhauled and made more efficient by taking the parcel-post business from the main offices in the large cities and conducting it through warehouses or other space rented for the purpose. This is really an express business and is delaying the delivery of the regular letter mail in these offices.

For the protection of the banks and other senders of valuable mail the carrying of mail by aerial route should be stopped unless special stamps are provided and it is so designated by the sender. Congress stipulated that this be done, but the Postmaster General so construed the statute as to do the opposite of what was intended.

The Department of Commerce should become an aggressive, reliable, and efficient instrumentality for the development of trade. That is what it was intended to be, but instead it has become, so far as our foreign commerce is concerned, an adjunct of our Consular Service. It should issue exhaustive monographs on the foreign sources of markets for our goods. There should be quick general reports on this subject. It should be made the chief factor in the American trade boom of the next 10 years, which is bound to follow the present period of liquidation caused by the lack of a protective tariff, overproduction, inflation, overexpansion of credits, and overspeculation. The executive force of the department is now permeated with the

Democratic theory of tariff for revenue only. Instead, it should help to give confidence to our business world, and while we protect our producers the Department of Justice should impartially and rigorously see to it that those engaged in interstate commerce who profiteer upon the people by means of exorbitant and unreasonable prices should be apprehended and dealt with not only by adequate fine but imprisonment.

Whatever tends to the upbuilding of this America in which we live should be encouraged. My motto is "America first," and with that thought in mind I have never been able to understand why American ships should not have preference in the Panama Canal. I am not unmindful of the fact that there are other nations and that the United States is but a part of a world. We can play our part in it without entangling ourselves in the affairs of others. We can be honorable and charitable without incurring obligations which may prevent us from doing what we think is just when we are called upon for performance. We can now point out, even though we are not a member of the League of Nations, and I trust never will be a member of a league of nations political in character, that there can not be any stability in Europe until Germany is told what she owes. It is most unfortunate that any official of the United States in any way gave approval to a document which imposes economic slavery. It needs no genius to see that a nation which is not told what she owes but which is given to understand that the exactions from her will be dependent upon her ability to pay will quickly comprehend that the more she works the more she will pay, and the less she works the less she will pay. Why should any people work hard if the fruits of their labor will be taken from them, and if they can not see an end to their obligations?

I hold no brief for Germany or for France, but as a business man I can readily see that it is just as essential for a nation as it is for an individual to know what are his assets and liabilities. If France is to put her house in order, it is just as essential for her to know what are her assets as it is for Germany to know what are her liabilities. How can France ever return to a stable basis so long as she lives on hopes rather than on facts? How can Germany be expected to return to work until she is told how much of the product of her work will be taken from her? So long as there hangs over her the fear that all of the product will be taken from her, so long will the people argue, "What is the use of work?" Give Germany a goal to work for, and if it is within reason she probably will work for it. Let France know what she can count upon, and she can quickly make a budget which will be in accord with her needs and in harmony with sound business. I hope, therefore, that in the very near future some way will be found of pointing out in a friendly way and as a sound business proposition to both France and Germany the necessity that the former should know as soon as possible what she will receive from Germany and that Germany will know as soon as possible what she must pay.

As for the League of Nations, if I understand the recent election, it was rejected by the people of the United States, and if we are true to the people we can not enter it.

We read much in the newspapers about an association of nations, and, indeed, one may be formed, but I am very skeptical that any association of nations can be created which we can enter without losing our independence, our influence, and our sovereignty. I am extremely doubtful whether we can enter a partnership with other nations whose principles of government are antithetical to our own. To do so and preserve our own form of government will challenge the wisdom of the greatest statesmen of the age. Will an association of nations induce Europe to disarm if we do? It is useless to enter into a game of diplomacy wherein the cards are stacked against us. Will such an association of nations prevent the members from taking commercial and financial advantage of us when they have a majority of votes? Will an association of nations prevent the members from transferring their debts to the taxpayers of this country? Will an association of nations, controlled by the great powers, lift the yoke of slavery from subject peoples, or will we unwittingly become slaveholders again?

I must be convinced that such an association of nations can be shaped without impairing our form of government. I have given much thought to the subject and feel that we can not join such an association, for the following reasons:

We hold that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. I do not desire to see the United States enter into any league with foreign powers which would even tend to withhold from them the eventual accomplishment of that right. We also consider it self-evident that church and state should be separated, each performing its function for the good of all when apart and both suffering when either seeks to control the other. We have enjoyed the blessings of this separation so long that we hardly give it a second thought. Yet

this principle does not prevail in the States which are members of the league now assembled at Geneva. We stated in the Declaration of Independence, we provided in our Constitution, we fought through four long years, because we believed that all men are created equal in opportunity and under the law. Why should we minimize that principle by allegiance to a league which does not guarantee it? We hold that a republican form of government, based upon equality of representation and universal suffrage for all men and women, without restriction as to wealth, creed, or color, based upon a system of checks and balances between the legislative, judicial, and executive branches so that no man or set of men may obtain and keep arbitrary power, is the best form of government in the world.

The present League of Nations does not even mention these principles. It sets forth in no glorious preamble to an immortal document that these God-given principles are for all men for all time. Yet our fathers died for these principles. They left the Old World and founded this Nation in the new in order that those principles might be established and preserved. They held them dearer than peace, dearer than life without them, and so they fought and died for them. We have been told that the league will assure permanent peace, as though that in itself were to be sought for above every other good. I do not believe this, and I am of the opinion that it will do the opposite. But even if it were true, I should be as bitterly opposed to it, unless it assured a peace which would perpetuate everywhere the ideals upon which America was founded.

It may be that some day we shall have a federation of the world, wherein every people shall express itself in a republic after every king and empire has passed away. That may be centuries hence.

In the meantime America should stand alone, if need be, and stand eternally for the principles upon which our Government is founded, stand as a beacon to the peoples of the earth to show what those who follow those principles may become. Liberty can not, must not, be compromised. A majority of 7,000,000 in this land has declared that it must not.

Mr. President, the new Republican administration of President HARRING, supported by a majority of 22 in the Senate and 170 in the House, and upheld by such an enormous popular majority, has before it a task unequalled in our generation and perhaps in the history of the Government. So well-nigh unanimous has been the voice of the electorate that it may be said without fear of serious contradiction that the Republican Party has received a mandate not only to reconstruct the executive departments and our entire governmental administration upon a more businesslike and efficient basis, but to so revise the laws as to make them harmonize with the foreign and domestic needs of a country which has grown tired of arbitrary impediments to commerce and to the free expression of its intelligence, and, above all, a mandate to maintain our position as the first Nation of the world.

SETTLEMENT OF WAR LOANS.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, on December 10 I introduced a joint resolution with reference to our debts from foreign countries. The joint resolution is as follows:

Joint resolution (S. J. Res. 221) instructing the Secretary of the Treasury as to settlement of war loans.

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and is hereby, directed and instructed at the earliest practicable moment to secure from the several foreign governments, namely, Belgium, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Liberia, Rumania, and Serbia, to which Governments moneys were loaned by the United States under and by virtue of the several war emergency acts of the Congress passed in the years 1917 and 1918, long-time interest-bearing bonds of such Governments for the moneys loaned under the said acts, the interest on such bonds to be paid semiannually at a rate not less than 5 per cent; that in making settlements with the several foreign Governments the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to take interest-bearing bonds for past-due interest on said loans and the future interest up to November 15, 1921, such bonds to be of like tenor and effect as the bonds for the principal loaned to said Governments, and the interest thereon to be paid semiannually in like manner; that said bonds thus taken on account of past-due interest and interest up to November 15, 1921, shall be set aside and kept separate and apart, and may be used as a fund with which to pay any sums that Congress may hereafter determine, should it at any time so determine, shall be paid to soldiers, sailors, and marines in the late War with Germany; that no steps be taken at the present time in reference to any sums loaned to Russia; and that on and after November 21, 1921, interest on all of said indebtednesses shall be collected, as and when the same falls due, it being the sense of the Congress that by said date, four or more years having thus passed since said loans were made, enough time will have elapsed for said Governments to have readjusted their financial obligations, and that in equity and good conscience they should begin paying regularly interest on said loans advanced to them by the United States for the protection and defense and sustenance of their Governments and their peoples.

These debts as shown by the last report of the Secretary of the Treasury are as follows:

Countries:	Credits established, net.
Belgium.....	\$349,214,467.89
Cuba.....	10,000,000.00
Czechoslovakia.....	67,329,041.10
France.....	3,147,974,777.24
Great Britain.....	4,277,000,000.00
Greece.....	48,236,629.05
Italy.....	1,666,260,179.72
Liberia.....	5,000,000.00
Roumania.....	25,000,000.00
Russia.....	187,729,750.00
Serbia.....	26,780,465.56

9,710,525,310.56

Of the foregoing advances there have been repaid up to November 15, 1920, by—

British Government.....	\$80,181,641.56
French Government.....	31,449,357.55
Roumanian Government.....	1,794,180.48
Serbian Government.....	605,326.34
Cuban Government.....	500,000.00
Belgian Government.....	10,000.00

Leaving a balance due the United States of \$9,595,984,804.69.

The Secretary in his report, on pages 53 and following, describes in some detail the status of these loans. Among other things, he says:

For these advances the Treasury holds obligations in the form of certificates of indebtedness to the United States, payable as to principal and interest, without deduction for taxes of the debtor Government, in gold coin of the United States of the present standard of weight and fineness at the Subtreasury of the United States in New York or at the Treasury of the United States in Washington. Certain of them, at the option of the holder, are payable in the money of the debtor country, some at a fixed rate, and others at the buying rate for cable transfers of the currency of the debtor country in the New York market at noon on the day of demand as determined by the Federal reserve bank of New York. The certificates of indebtedness are signed in the name of the respective debtor Governments by representatives of such Governments designated to the Treasury by the Department of State as being authorized to sign them in the name and on behalf of the respective Governments.

The earlier certificates were payable at fixed dates of maturity, all of which are now past, so that they are now held as demand obligations. They bore interest at various rates of interest from 3 per cent per annum upward. Those subsequently taken are payable on demand and bear interest at the rate of 5 per cent. By arrangement with the respective Governments substantially all the obligations have since May 15, 1918, borne interest at the rate of 5 per cent. The certificates of indebtedness are receivable in payment for bonds of the debtor Government or else are convertible into bonds in conformity with the provisions of the various Liberty bond acts in effect at the respective dates of the certificates of indebtedness.

As to interest collections the report further says:

To and including November, 1918, the dates for the collection of interest from foreign Governments were May 15 and November 15. In the spring of 1919 the respective Governments were informed that it would be convenient for the Treasury to receive semiannual payments of interest on April 15 and on October 15 on approximately two-thirds of their respective obligations, and on May 15 and November 15 on the remainder. The full amount of interest due up to April 15, 1919, or May 15, 1919, was, except in the case of Russia, paid in cash on all these loans. To the extent that such interest was not paid from other resources of the foreign Governments concerned it was paid from the proceeds of loans made by the United States Government. All interest on the debts of Cuba and Greece was paid as it became due.

The following is an itemized statement showing the amount of interest heretofore paid by each of the foreign Governments on advances made to it by the United States Treasury:

Belgium.....	\$10,907,281.55
Cuba.....	1,136,865.47
Czechoslovakia Republic.....	304,178.09
France.....	128,140,816.48
Great Britain.....	233,357,185.50
Greece.....	409,153.34
Italy.....	57,598,852.62
Liberia.....	161.10
Roumania.....	263,313.74
Russia.....	4,595,564.15
Serbia.....	636,059.14
Total.....	437,349,431.18

The amount paid on Russian obligations represents the interest up to November 15, 1917, in full, together with a partial payment of \$1,865,925.08 on account of the interest which became due May 15, 1918, and partial payments of \$1,399,877.43 on account of the interest which became due November 15, 1918. That paid by the Governments of Greece and Cuba includes interest paid up to October 15, 1920, and November 15, 1920, respectively. The amount paid by the French Government includes interest amounting to \$1,810,441.50 to July 31, 1919, on an obligation dated January 28, 1919, and also interest accrued after April 15, 1919, on \$19,302,357.55 principal subsequently repaid by the French Government in connection with the adjustment of accounts. The sum paid by the British Government includes \$2,244,778.59 interest accrued after May 15, 1919, on \$80,181,641.56 principal subsequently repaid by the British Government in connection with the adjustment of accounts, and that paid by Roumania includes a partial payment of \$154,409.63 on account of interest accrued to October 15, 1919.

The Secretary of the Treasury holds a special fund of \$1,808,506, which is equal to the unpaid balance of the interest which became due on Russian obligations on May 15, 1918. It is believed that ultimately this can be applied in discharge of this balance. A similar fund of \$335,095.07 is held, which it is believed will be applicable upon the unpaid balance of the interest which became due November 15, 1918, on the Russian account. The interest accrued and remaining unpaid on Russian obligations, after deducting these special funds, for

the half year ending November 15, 1918, is \$2,994,025.10, and for the half years ending April 15, 1919, and May 15, 1919, is \$4,101,107.50.

The interest due and unpaid is as follows:

The interest accrued and remaining unpaid on obligations of foreign Governments purchased by the Treasury under the Liberty bond acts for the half years ending, respectively, October 15, 1919, and November 15, 1919, April 15, 1920, and May 15, 1920, and October 15, 1920, and November 15, 1920, is as follows:

Countries.	Oct. 15 and Nov. 15, 1919.	Apr. 15 and May 15, 1920.	Oct. 15 and Nov. 15, 1920.	Total.
Belgium.....	\$8,330,832.65	\$8,468,375.00	\$8,539,887.75	\$25,339,095.40
Czechoslovakia.....	1,164,422.14	1,354,134.64	1,478,333.35	3,996,890.13
France.....	65,669,500.12	72,218,078.80	73,637,124.10	211,524,703.02
Great Britain.....	104,741,907.05	101,920,458.96	101,920,458.96	314,582,824.97
Italy.....	39,050,152.83	40,442,845.74	40,765,715.11	120,258,713.68
Liberia.....	323.69	640.16	650.00	1,618.85
Roumania.....	382,818.09	625,000.00	597,302.95	1,605,121.04
Russia.....	4,713,366.30	4,685,999.25	4,693,243.75	14,092,609.30
Serbia.....	669,258.13	669,511.64	659,230.96	1,998,000.73
	224,722,586.00	233,385,044.19	235,291,946.93	693,399,577.12
Add balance (in excess of special funds above mentioned) of interest accrued and remaining unpaid on Russian obligations for half year ending Nov. 15, 1918, and half years ending Apr. 15, 1919, and May 15, 1919.....				7,065,132.60
Total.....				700,464,709.72

The figures that the Secretary of the Treasury gives us in his report are clear enough. We learn how much each Government owes, how much has been repaid, and how much interest is due, but the remainder of the report is very confusing. It is not a clear report. An examination of the several acts of Congress under which these loans were made makes it clear that it was the intent of Congress that interest-bearing bonds, running not longer than the bonds of the United States, should be taken as evidence of the several loans in return for same, but the Secretary reports on page 56 that the Secretary of the Treasury took certificates convertible into bonds "if requested by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States."

My own interpretation of the several acts of Congress under which these loans were authorized is that it was the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, and is his duty now, to convert these certificates into long-time bonds. It is true that the Secretary says that he is opposed to canceling the debts, but his statement on this subject is somewhat vague and indefinite, and at the end of it he tells what the "reasonable and proper course" would be, but gives no reason why he has not carried out this "reasonable and proper course." I quote from his conclusion on this subject:

The indebtedness incurred by the United States to make the foreign loans is not cared for by the sinking fund. Congress contemplated that foreign repayments would provide for that part of our debt. Of late there has been no little discussion as to how this foreign debt should be treated. Some advance the proposal that it should be canceled. This is a favorite plan of some Europeans and some Americans. The suggestion is based first on one ground and then on another. At one time it is based on sentiment or on considerations of generosity. By some it is based on the contention that it will promote peace. It apparently is assumed that antagonisms will be set up if the nations of Europe are asked to repay the loans which they sought and so gladly received. At another time it is based on consideration for present producing interests. Voices are heard representing that it will ruin the trade of America if Europe is to send us her commodities for what she owes us. Apparently these advocates contend that international trade will be profitable provided only we give to the world what we produce, declining to receive any commodities in return. I imagine neither of these suggestions will be received with favor by the American taxpayers. They will realize that if the debts are canceled they must pay taxes to meet the interest and to redeem the principal of \$10,000,000,000. Another suggestion is that the demand notes now held by the Government shall be funded into bonds bearing a higher rate of interest which the debtor nations will consent to exchange for the outstanding bonds, and that a direct relation be set up between those who consent to receive such bonds in this country and the foreign debtors, although it is proposed that this Government guarantee the bonds. No evidence is furnished that debtor nations would be willing to assent to the creation of a bonded debt with a higher rate of interest with obligation for the immediate payment of interest; and there is nothing in existing law which warrants such a transaction. They should not be charged interest at a rate exceeding the cost to our Government of the money borrowed from our people to lend to them. The advances made by the United States to the Allies began only at the time of our entry into the war. For substantially a year we had no considerable military forces in Europe and we were lending the money needed to supply the part purchased from our people of the materials necessary for the armies of the Allies, who were holding the Germans in the meantime. If in April, 1917, we had had a vast Army in Europe there would have been no considerable loans to the Allies for purchases of war material in this country, since our own armies would have needed all the munitions this country could have produced. In the circumstances we must deal with the debts of the allied governments in a spirit of fairness. The suggestion that we should throw them upon the market appears to me to be as fatuous and impracticable as either of the other suggestions.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, does the report of the Secretary of the Treasury indicate that no bonds from these debtor nations have been turned over by them to our Government?

Mr. McKELLAR. They have given us certificates of indebtedness, now all past due, according to the report.

Mr. KING. Why has he not converted those certificates into bonds, as the law under which the loans were made seems to contemplate?

Mr. McKELLAR. That is the purpose of my remarks, and if the Senator will just wait a moment I think he will see fully my view about it.

PRESENT CONDITION OF DEBTS UNBUSINESSLIKE.

Mr. President, it is wholly unbusinesslike for these debts to remain in their present nebulous state. We should have a definite understanding with our friends to whom we loaned this money. We should require the payment of the current interest as and when it falls due at the earliest date possible. Apparently interest was paid until 1919 and then discontinued. I say apparently, because the report of the Secretary is indefinite on this subject. It does not say whether payments were discontinued at the request of our Government or at the requests of the debtor Governments, or whether payments were just discontinued without discussion at all. It does not say that our Government tried to collect and could not. The American people should know why these interest payments were made up until 1919, after the war was over, and then suddenly discontinued.

Mr. SMOOT. I think I can tell the Senator how those payments have been made. There has been no payment made by any foreign country other than through the settlement of balances of trade between the two countries. No foreign country has sent to us gold to pay us on their obligations, but the payments, the Senator will find in the Secretary's report, are payments of debts that were due America in the settlement of the balances of trade between the two countries. That is why some countries have not paid a thing, and others have.

Mr. McKELLAR. I assume that is correct, although the report of the Secretary does not say so, and I think it should say so; and I think the Secretary should furnish us with definite information about the matter.

Mr. KING. I think also, supplementing what my colleague has said, some interest was paid out of loans which we made them. They never paid any interest directly, but they utilized some of the loans which were made to credit their interest account.

Mr. McKELLAR. That may be possible, but it is not disclosed by the report of the Secretary.

There is now due on the principal more than nine and a half billions of dollars. There is likewise more than seven hundred million dollars of past due interest, according to this report of the Secretary. Why the payments of interest were discontinued is a most important matter.

THESE DEBTS SHOULD NOT BE CANCELED.

It has been suggested by some that these debts should be canceled by our Government. I have no sympathy with such a view. I do not believe that any of these foreign Governments would suggest such a proposition. By reason of these loans and our own active participation in the war Great Britain has not only preserved herself and retained her vast commerce, her vast navy, her merchant marine, but has also added untold territory and wealth to her domains. The same is relatively true of France and Italy. In addition, all these nations have the obligations of Germany and Austria for tremendous sums in reparation. In a smaller way this applies to all the other nations involved, except perhaps Cuba and Liberia. Czechoslovakia sprang up after the war, Minerva-like, as a full-grown nation, and all because of America's participation in the war and America's financing of her Government after the war. Belgium and Rumania were restored, largely increased in territory and indemnified. I take it that not one of these Governments would for a moment refuse to give long-term bonds for their principal and would gladly pay the interest to the Nation that furnished so large a part of the money to defend and protect them if the United States definitely told them to do so.

But it is said that we ought to cancel this debt because of what France did for us in the Revolutionary War. I acknowledge that debt to the limit, but our Government has more than paid it back. She has paid it back a thousandfold, because by the use of her money and her men she has preserved and enlarged the French Republic and saved its Government from destruction by Germany. I am reliably informed that while our Army was in France fighting for the preservation of her Government and her people we were charged for everything taken, injured, or damaged; that large rentals were charged for

all our depots and warehouses; that rentals were charged for all of our camps; that if fruit trees or other trees were destroyed or injured in battle we were charged for the damages. It has been charged that we actually paid rent for the very trenches which were used by our boys in defending France, and that she charged our soldiers one price for all goods sold them and her soldiers and her people a less price; but I am constrained to believe this is not true. It surely can not be true. Under these circumstances surely there is not even a sentimental reason why we should cancel this debt of honor that France owes us. I say these things not in condemnation of France, but in justice to America. In other words, France, having treated our aid in the war as purely a business matter, it would be unbecoming in us, as I look at it, to treat it in any other way. Indeed, we are precluded from treating it in any other way if we maintain our self-respect. In order to carry on the war we taxed our people to the limit. On the other hand, France taxed her people very lightly, comparatively speaking. For these reasons it seems to me that nothing but a maudlin sentimentality would suggest the cancellation of these debts. The French people are not taxed as heavily as the American people are to-day. Our own people are standing a burden of taxation greater than taxation in France because of this war. She, too, is spending tremendous sums on her army and navy; she has received back Alsace and Lorraine. She has received tremendous reparation obligations from Germany, and there is no reason why she should not also pay these debts that she owes us.

Again, it is said that we ought to cancel this debt due us by Great Britain because of the great expense that the war has been to Great Britain; that she bore the financial burden of the war up until the time we went into it; that we are kinspeople, and that we ought to contribute the sum that England owes us, being the sum of four and a quarter billion dollars, for the help of our kinsmen. However, Great Britain did not treat us exactly this way. Naturally, she did everything possible to get us into the war. She was intensely desirous of having our aid. At the same time, after we declared war she charged us a very large price and wanted to charge us a much larger price for every soldier that she transported across the ocean in her defense. She charged us high rates for every ton of freight carried to maintain our armies. In other words, she treated us in a business way, and her ships made enormous profits out of our participation in the war. When our troops landed in England we likewise had to pay for camps and fields. While the war was on she was greatly interested in our building up a merchant marine so that we could supply our armies and hers with American goods, but as soon as the war was over she went into a trade war with us and a rate war, and that trade and rate war has been going on ever since, and it is perfectly plain that she intends, if possible, to compel our merchant marine, as a world carrying merchant marine, to leave the seas. I am reliably informed that to-day the most active kind of rate war is going on between our merchant marine and England's, and all the time that this is going on England is being aided, in part, by the \$200,000,000 in annual interest that she is withholding upon these debts. At the same time she is adding tremendously to her merchant marine and to her navy.

Another reason why the loan of Great Britain especially should be collected and the interest promptly paid is the attitude of Great Britain on the subject of oil. It must be remembered that it was American oil that gave the English Navy such a tremendous advantage in the war with Germany. England could not have maintained herself without this oil supply. The United States has provided no restrictions upon her acquiring oil in the United States. Her nationals are permitted to buy such oil fields as they desire on equal terms with Americans. Now, what is England's attitude toward us? It is directly the contrary. She debars foreigners from owning or operating oil-producing properties in the British Isles, colonies, and protectorates. She denies foreigners' participation, ownership, and control of petroleum companies. She denies to British oil companies the right of selling their properties to foreign owned or controlled companies. She prohibits the transfers of British oil companies' stock to other than British subjects or nationals. She controls the tremendous oil fields of Persia and will not permit Americans to purchase oil lands there. Since the armistice she has denied to American vessels the right to obtain oil from British stations.

By the recent San Remo agreement she and France divided the oil interests of Mesopotamia, she to get 75 per cent and France to get 25 per cent. America is excluded. When we remember that naval vessels propelled by the use of oil are 3 or 4 knots per hour faster than the coal-propelled vessels, and when we remember that naval vessels and merchant marine can take

supplies of oil anywhere on the seas, it is easy to see what this policy of England means. And yet we are aiding Great Britain in all of these designs by releasing her, temporarily at least, from the payment of \$200,000,000 per year interest that she owes us.

Under these circumstances, as it seems to me, it would be idiocy on our part to cancel these very just debts. I say these things not in criticism of Great Britain but in justice to America. Great Britain is treating the matter as a business matter. She is treating her relations with America as business relations. She is doing everything possible to obtain and control the world's trade. She does not want America as a rival on the seas. On the other hand, every thoughtful American must know that our merchant marine must be built up if we are to retain our place as a world power and if we are to distribute our products in the markets of the world. It is a matter of business, not a matter of sentiment, and these enormous loans by us to Great Britain should not be dealt with in the manner in which apparently our Government is dealing with them.

INTEREST ON THESE LOANS.

The next question is, Should the interest be paid? The Secretary of the Treasury in his report says:

The reasonable and proper course is to proceed under the terms of existing law which authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to fund the demand notes into obligations with a distant maturity at a rate of interest at least equivalent to that borne by our own bonds, coupled with authority for the time being to defer interest payments.

The italics are mine.

The Secretary of the Treasury needs no new authority to fund this indebtedness into long-time bonds. He was directed to do that in the four acts of Congress which authorized these loans. He should not have the authority to defer interest payments. The interest payments should be made as and when due. In order that no injustice may be done, the resolution that I have introduced provides that the past due interest and future interest up until November 15, 1921, be funded into bonds and that thereafter interest shall be paid in advance when due. If a settlement fixing an earlier date than November 15, 1921, can be had, it should be done by all means. This is giving the several Governments ample time in which to make their arrangements to pay this interest. This interest will amount, annually, to not less than \$500,000,000. The Secretary of the Treasury should not be given authority to defer these payments. The law requires him to collect them. Apparently he has made no effort to collect interest on these obligations. If he has made such efforts, he does not say so in his report. It is not within his powers to disregard the law and make an appeal to Congress to change it to accord to his views or to give him power to suspend it at will. I do not understand why these long-term bonds have not been secured before. I surely do not understand why the Secretary of the Treasury has failed to collect interest on the loans. He does not state by what arrangements it was suspended, if any, or whether it was just a clear case of default. That information should be given to Congress.

Mr. President, our tax burdens are heavy. We need this \$500,000,000 per year. If it were collected, we could raise the exemptions on incomes from \$1,000 on single persons and \$2,000 on married persons to \$3,000 on single persons and \$4,000 on married persons, and have a surplus of \$300,000,000, or we could reduce the excess-profits tax nearly one-half, or we could remove all of the petty annoying sales taxes and other small taxes that are trying upon the people and still have a surplus.

Again, it is claimed that these nations are not able to pay the interest. I call attention to the fact that after the war was over the United States sold surplus war supplies to Belgium, in round numbers, \$27,000,000; to Czechoslovakia, \$20,000,000; Estonia, \$12,000,000; France, \$400,000,000; Latvia, \$2,500,000; Lithuania, \$4,000,000; Poland, \$57,000,000; Rumania, \$12,000,000; Russia, \$406,000; Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, \$25,000,000; in all, \$563,000,000. Interest has been very generally paid on these sums, according to the Secretary's report. But on the war loans it has been suspended, indicating apparently that there is some belief on their part that it will not be collected.

That England is able to pay the interest on her obligations there can be no doubt. It has not been long since she advanced \$50,000,000 to Argentina, of course, with a view of better commercial and trade relations with Argentina; and I have been informed that she has advanced Germany large sums with a like view. She is spending an enormous sum in building and maintaining her merchant marine and building and maintaining her navy, and surely under such circumstances there can be no question about her ability and willingness to pay. For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1920, she spent on her navy \$765,586,080 and on her army the stupendous sum of \$1,968,300,000, and yet she ignores her debt of \$200,000,000 per year to us.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN] was talking a while ago about disarmament. I noticed in the papers yesterday that Lloyd-George was talking about disarmament. These figures do not sound much like disarmament. Seven hundred and sixty-five million dollars for a navy. That is half as much again as America spent on her Navy during the present year. Talk about our outstripping England in naval building by 1923! How can it be thought of for a moment in view of these figures? Seven hundred and sixty-five million dollars for her navy last year and about \$2,000,000,000 for her army. It is a subterfuge when they talk about disarmament, when the appropriations reach the enormous sums that are here shown.

Mr. KING. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. McKELLAR. In just a moment I will yield to the Senator.

It is a most surprising thing that a great nation like England has defaulted on her interest for loans that have been made to protect her empire. It is almost unbelievable that she had let her interest go by default. The same is relatively true of France. In any event, an annual income from this source of \$500,000,000 would lessen the tax burdens of the American people to a very great extent.

I now yield to the Senator from Utah.

Mr. KING. I think it is due to Great Britain to state that she has signified her desire to reduce her armament and also to reduce her army. But the Senator must keep in mind the fact that since the armistice Great Britain and France both have been compelled to maintain very large armies. I am not justifying Great Britain's conduct by any means; but the Senator will remember that she has been compelled upon a number of fronts to maintain a very large military force. France and England to-day are maintaining military forces in Germany, in Silesia, and in other parts where, under the Versailles treaty, the obligation would rest upon them or upon the Allies so to do.

I think the Senator's figures with respect to the amount expended by Great Britain for her navy for one year are rather excessive.

Mr. McKELLAR. I got them from the RECORD. I had them verified by the librarian. The figures of \$765,000,000 for a navy in her last fiscal year are verified by me by sending to the library and having the figures verified there from figures in the possession of the library. There can not be any doubt about that amount having been expended.

That does not look to me like disarmament; and I will say that any nation that can spend \$765,000,000 for her navy just after the war through which England has gone is able to pay the interest on her debts due us for the protection of her empire.

Mr. KING. If the Senator will pardon me, I think that a portion of that amount was to meet obligations theretofore incurred rather than to aid in the construction of new vessels. I think the Senator will find upon investigation that the amount actually devoted to new vessels, either of the capital-ship type or even down to the smallest type, will not amount to the sum which the Senator states.

Mr. McKELLAR. I give the figures as contained in the law passed by Parliament; that is, I am informed by experts at the library that that is true. They show the actual appropriations and exactly how they were to be expended. I do not know but \$765,000,000 for a navy in peace time is a very considerable sum, and no nation ought to plead poverty that has the money to spend that much upon a navy.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President—

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Is the British fiscal year the same as our fiscal year or does it correspond with the calendar year?

Mr. McKELLAR. The British fiscal year ends on March 31 and ours ends on June 30. That is the difference in the fiscal years.

Mr. President, I go one step further. On pages 44, 45, and 46 of his report the Secretary of the Treasury sets out for the information of Congress sources of about \$2,000,000,000 in additional taxation, composed largely of increases on income tax, corporation tax, and various other kinds of taxes. Evidently it was in the mind of the Secretary that because of decreased business and the accompanying decreased incomes that the Government would not derive as much taxes the next year as it is deriving now, and he therefore suggests these sources of increasing our taxation. Our taxation should not be increased a dollar, and it will not be necessary to increase it if we collect this interest on our foreign notes, even though we do not collect as much from excess profits and incomes. We should

cut down the expenses of Government and decrease the taxes, rather than increase them. We should make every edge cut, so to speak. We should trim every appropriation bill. It is monstrous to talk about increasing the present burdensome rate of taxation. It is a pity that the Secretary did not devote more time to informing Congress how we could collect the money due us rather than seeking out additional sources of taxation.

Mr. President, although our taxes are burdensome in the extreme, the fiscal agent of the Government now comes along and hands us a list showing how we can raise \$2,000,000,000 more from the people. Hardly a passing thought is given to the question of how we can collect the \$500,000,000 that is due us. If we had the current interest paid to us as and when due, of course, even if our Republican friends are more extravagant than we have been, we should still have the money with which to pay without increasing the taxes.

Mr. SMOOT. It will be impossible for the Republican administration to be more extravagant than the Democratic administration has been.

Mr. McKELLAR. It may be impossible. I hope they will cut down the appropriations, but I say that it is more likely, unless these honest debts are paid, they will have to increase the taxes, even as the Republican majority are now undertaking to increase our taxes. Of course, an increase in the tariff means an addition to the burden of taxation borne by the American people. It is just another form of taxation; it is just another source of taxation that the Secretary of the Treasury omitted, and will probably result in an addition of \$500,000,000, or even more than that. But why do that, when we have this money honestly and justly and fairly due us?

Mr. President, I do not know how far the propaganda in favor of canceling the foreign debt or canceling the interest on that debt is going. Much has been said about a bonus to our soldiers. The Secretary of the Treasury said it is impossible to pay a cash bonus at this time. I do not know what our Republican friends are going to do about that. I do not know whether they are going to pay soldiers a cash bonus or not. As they are in charge of the Government, they can do so if they will or not do so, just as they see fit.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Will the Senator tell us who it is who has suggested the cancellation of the debts of foreign countries to the United States?

Mr. McKELLAR. The Secretary of the Treasury in his report states it has been suggested that it ought to be done, and there exists the remarkable situation where no one is trying to collect the debt, which makes it seem that some such course is extremely probable.

PAST DUE INTEREST TO SOLDIERS.

Mr. President, the House of Representatives has passed a bill giving to the soldiers of the late war a bonus amounting, it is estimated, to something like a billion and a half dollars. The Secretary of the Treasury has stated that it will be impossible for the Treasury to furnish this amount; that if we issue bonds for the amount, it will be difficult to sell them; that the finances of the country will be very much endangered if we undertook to pay this very considerable sum in cash to our former soldiers. This bonus bill has not been reported in the Senate yet, but it will unquestionably be reported, and no doubt it will be reported favorably, and no doubt it will pass this body and become the law—either that bill or some bill of like character.

In the resolution which I have offered the Secretary of the Treasury is directed to fund into interest-bearing bonds the past due interest, due from foreign governments, as of date November 15, 1921. At that time the past due interest will amount to something like \$1,200,000,000. There is no reason why these bonds for the past due interest should not be taken and delivered to these soldiers in proper proportion. If this were done it would relieve the Treasury of the immense burden which would be placed upon it by directing a cash bonus. The taxpayers of the country would not object if this portion of the indebtedness due us by foreign governments should be paid to the soldiers. It would be very fair that this portion of such indebtedness be paid to the soldiers directly in view of the fact that these soldiers defended and protected the very governments which issued the bonds. It may be that our Government would have to guarantee these bonds; but at all events, to my mind it is the fairest and best method at this time of paying the soldiers a bonus. I take it that the foreign governments will be, indeed, glad to know that a portion of their bonds were to be used in this way. It would relieve the Government. It would

relieve the taxpayers, and be the least objectionable way of paying a very just debt.

In addition to the foregoing if the soldiers themselves throughout the country are interested in the collection in part of these foreign debts there is not likely to arise any sentiment in this country that will cause the cancellation of these just obligations. Insidious propaganda has been started looking to the cancellation of this indebtedness. The soldiers of the country having an interest in the bonds would not countenance this propaganda. If we are to pay a bonus, and I think it is generally agreed by a great many of our people that we should pay a bonus, this seems to be the least burdensome way of paying it, and in addition, it is manifestly a fair way to pay it; it being remembered that we get no reparations and no indemnities from any of the Central Powers.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I should like to say in reply to one observation which was made by the Senator from Tennessee, that if there is any propaganda looking to the cancellation of the debts due by our allies and other nations to the United States I have not learned of it. I have not received a single letter or suggestion from any source favoring that proposition, nor have I seen any publications which advocated such a course. I do not believe that there is any sentiment in the United States in favor of canceling the debts which our allies owe the United States, and I do not think that those nations desire it.

If the Secretary of the Treasury has made an observation upon that matter I think it grows out of rumor, and perhaps some irrelevant and impertinent statements made by thoughtless or hysterical persons, whose utterances are of but slight consequence. I do not think that we need have any apprehension in regard to appeals being made by European nations to cancel the obligations which they owe the United States.

Mr. McKELLAR. Then, if I understand the Senator, he thinks that these debts ought not to be canceled and that we ought to collect interest at the earliest possible moment?

Mr. KING. I agree most heartily with the Senator that we should collect the amounts due as soon as our allies can pay them. However, we can not close our eyes to the chaotic situation in Europe and to the financial collapse of many of our debtors. Europe is practically bankrupt, and we have been urged to legislate to enable the people of Europe to purchase our surplus products. The war finance bill which we passed a day or so ago recognized the distress of Europe and sought to provide a means by which our products could be sold in Europe. It would be absolutely impossible for us to collect anything from Russia, with Lenin and Trotsky and the soviet government in control; indeed, they have repudiated the obligations of Russia to the United States. I have no doubt that when in Russia a government representing the people is established and begins to function, Russia will promptly acknowledge her obligations to the United States and will take steps to meet them at the earliest date possible.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will say to the Senator that in the resolution that I have offered, which I trust he will read with care to-morrow, the debt due from Russia is specifically excepted from any action at this time. I understand that situation; but the debt of Russia amounts only to the pitiful sum, comparatively speaking, of \$187,000,000, which is not very much in comparison with the \$10,000,000,000 due us from the other countries.

I think the Senator will agree with me that any nation that is able to appropriate for her army practically \$2,000,000,000 in one year and for her navy \$765,000,000 in one year should be able to pay interest on her debts.

Mr. KING. There is no question in regard to that, but this much must be said: That France, Great Britain, and Italy have undertaken largely the liquidation of the postwar problems in Europe. We have not done so; we have practically withdrawn from Europe; we refused our assent to the Versailles treaty and our allies were compelled to assume the burdens and responsibilities of enforcing the provisions of that treaty. There were problems of tremendous importance that had to be solved and burdens that had to be borne in connection with the liquidation of the war, and Great Britain and France have largely borne those burdens. Speaking for myself, I feel that our country and the world are under obligations to Great Britain and France for what they have done in attempting to stabilize Europe since the armistice and to bring peace and order to the distracted and suffering people of European nations.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President—

Mr. KING. One further observation and I will yield. The Senator also knows that Czechoslovakia, to which he refers, the Jugo-Slav Nation, Poland, and other nations which have been

erected since the armistice, are having the utmost difficulty to maintain themselves. It seems quite certain that within the next six months Poland will be subjected to such pressure that, unless she receives support from the allied nations, she will scarcely be able to maintain herself against the assaults of the bolsheviks. Already the bolsheviks are massing their forces upon the western front of Russia for the purpose of assailing not only Poland, but Esthonia and Latvia and perhaps other nations which have been established. Armenia has been overwhelmed by the Turks and bolsheviks and other conquests will be attempted. Turkey is still militant and is fighting Greece and menacing France and England in Asia Minor. Greece will be pressed by the nationalist régime in Anatolia and will have difficulty in maintaining her new boundaries. The United States can not collect at this time the sums due from Europe. We will have to be patient with our debtors for a while; but if any nation can pay, it should pay. It is only fair that all of our debtors should, and all of them ought to, place their obligations in the form of bonds bearing a fair rate of interest. We should see to it that Europe's debt to the United States be properly represented and properly protected and that payment be made as soon as possible consistent with just and humane principles and policies.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I will call the attention of the Senator to the fact that Poland does not owe us any of the debts referred to, and that Czechoslovakia owes us only the comparatively small amount of fifty-odd million dollars, the interest on which is small and the payment of which would impose practically no burden upon her at all. The trouble is that apparently since 1919, for some reason that has not been explained by the Secretary—I hope he will explain it, for there must be some explanation—foreign nations have apparently quit paying interest. I do not understand why they should quit paying the interest on their loans unless it be that some of them expect to put these debts in a hodgepodge and let America pay her part of them. That has been suggested time and again by public men, but I for one do not want that understanding to go abroad. I want the European nations to know that while we have been generous in lending them the money, and while we have been generous in waiting until they got on their feet, so to speak, that we have no intention whatsoever of canceling their debts. It would not be fair to the American people. The tax burdens of this country now are larger than those of France. France did not raise by taxation much of the money expended by her during the war; she raised it by bonds. She has glided over the duty of imposing heavy tax burdens upon her people. There is no reason why she could not pay these debts, and for these reasons I have introduced this resolution. I think it is timely. I think the American people ought to have this matter arranged for them; and surely if ever there was a time when we needed the money it is at a time when the Secretary of the Treasury points out that a tremendous increase must be made in the tax burdens unless we get this money.

EMERGENCY TARIFF.

Mr. SMOOT rose.

Mr. HARRISON. I imagine that the Senator is going to make a motion to adjourn.

Mr. SMOOT. I rose for that purpose.

Mr. HARRISON. I desire to ask the Senator a question before he makes the motion to adjourn. The adjournment will be until Monday, will it not?

Mr. SMOOT. It will. That order has already been made.

Mr. HARRISON. Can the Senator tell the Senate what is the plan on Monday? Is it to have a real session or to adjourn soon after the Senate convenes?

The reason why I ask is because there are a good many Senators away on both sides—I know a good many on this side—and there are several who are here to-day who want to go home to spend Christmas. Is it the intention of the Senator and those on his side of the Chamber to try to transact any business on Monday?

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, we are going to have the emergency tariff bill referred to the committee, and to make that absolutely sure I hope there will be a quorum of Senators here. I will say to the Senator that there is nothing especial to go on with upon Monday, with the exception of the reference of that bill to the committee.

Mr. HARRISON. It is the intention, then, to try to refer it to the committee?

Mr. SMOOT. To the Finance Committee, so that they can go on with hearings on the bill if they desire to hold them.

Mr. HARRISON. Can the Senator tell us whether the Committee on Finance intends to hold hearings on that bill?

Mr. SMOOT. My opinion is that they will not hold hearings on it; but of course the committee will meet, and Senators on that committee will have ample time to discuss the bill.

Mr. HARRISON. Now may I ask the Senator whether on Monday, the 27th, when we convene, it is the intention of the Senator and others on his side of the Chamber to ask the Senate, when it adjourns, to adjourn over until the following Thursday?

Mr. SMOOT. Either to that day or Wednesday.

Mr. HARRISON. Will the Senator allow me to make the suggestion that we can get unanimous consent through now that when we adjourn on Monday we shall adjourn until the following Wednesday or Thursday?

Mr. SMOOT. I should not care about having that done now, Mr. President.

Mr. HARRISON. Would the Senator object if I should ask unanimous consent to that effect now?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes; I should object, Mr. President. I want the Senator to take my word that that is what we intend to do unless something unforeseen happens.

Now, Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 35 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, December 27, 1920, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, December 23, 1920.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon, and was called to order by Mr. WALSH, Speaker pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

God of the ages out of whose all-inclusive love come a thousand blessings day by day to Thy children. The swift flight of time has brought us once more to the anniversary of Thine own best gift to the world, heralded by an angelic host singing "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." It arouses all that is best, purest, and most generous in the hearts of men, illustrated by a hundred charitable societies which make glad the hearts of millions. It fills the home with love, peace, and happiness in gifts received and distributed. We pray that the Christ child may be born in millions of hearts to-day that greed, bickering, and wars may pass away. A peace pact, formed spontaneously out of the hearts of thinking men, that disarmament may set in and relieve millions of the burdens of taxation and make every home throughout the world happier and life safer, and peace crown all the world through the teachings and sublime character of the Master. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, Mr. BLAND of Missouri was granted leave of absence, indefinitely, on account of sickness and business.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message in writing from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House of Representatives that the President had approved and signed bills of the following titles:

On December 21, 1920:

H. R. 12887. An act establishing the liability of hotel proprietors and innkeepers in the District of Columbia.

On December 22, 1920:

H. R. 13264. An act to provide for the award of a medal of merit to the personnel of the merchant marine of the United States of America.

REFERENCE OF A BILL.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill H. R. 4296 be rereferred from the Committee on the Territories to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. What is it about?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. It is a bill to amend the national prohibition act.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. In what respect?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Making it applicable to the Philippine Islands.

Mr. GARNER. Why should it not go to the Committee on the Territories?

Mr. VOLSTEAD. Because it amends the prohibition act.

Mr. GARNER. It has to do with the Philippine Islands.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. That is true.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Does not the Committee on Insular Affairs deal with those questions?

Mr. MANN of Illinois. It should go to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. If it does not go to the Committee on the Territories, it should go to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. That is where it belongs.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. It is an amendment of the code.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. All laws relating to the Philippines are amendments of statutes of some sort.

Mr. GARNER. Let me suggest to the gentleman that he interview the chairmen of the Committee on the Territories and the Committee on Insular Affairs.

Mr. VOLSTEAD. I have seen the chairman of the Committee on the Territories.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am perfectly willing for it to go to the Committee on Insular Affairs, but I am not willing that it should take the course suggested by the gentleman from Minnesota.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Missouri objects.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. GARNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by inserting a statement by former Secretary McAdoo touching the financial situation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting a statement by ex-Secretary McAdoo touching the financial situation. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Reserving the right to object, is all the hot air to go in the RECORD hereafter?

Mr. GARNER. Well, this gentleman has had something to do with the finances of the country for the last four years, and I think his suggestions touching the financial condition of the country are of some value.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. I regret to say that he had more to do with it than was good for the country.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. FESS. Reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman whether that was not put in the RECORD by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HENRY T. RAINEY]?

Mr. GARNER. If it was, I will not insert it again.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WELLING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on the tariff bill passed yesterday.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Utah asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

There was no objection.

LEAVE TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, immediately after the reading of the Journal on Monday next and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, I may have leave to address the House for 10 minutes on the last census and the reapportionment by Congress based thereon.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida asks unanimous consent that on Monday next, immediately after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, he may have leave to address the House for 10 minutes on the last census and the reapportionment made thereon. Is there objection?

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I trust that the gentleman will not press that request. There has been quite a bit of criticism in the House of late for fixing specific dates for addresses. I think beyond question the gentleman can get his time on Monday. I do not think there will be any difficulty about it at all.

Mr. SEARS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw the request.

PENSION APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 15344) making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, and for other purposes, and pending that I ask unanimous consent that the general debate be limited to two hours.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois moves that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of

the pension appropriation bill, H. R. 15344, and pending that he asks unanimous consent that general debate be limited to two hours. Is there objection?

Mr. WINGO. Reserving the right to object, can the gentleman give us any information as to what is the program of the House to-day? Is it intended to adjourn immediately after the passage of this bill?

Mr. CANNON. I have no knowledge about that. I suppose the suggestion of a want of a quorum after this bill is passed might bring an adjournment.

Mr. WINGO. There is no objection to this bill, but a good many Members were delayed yesterday, and if it is understood that the House will adjourn after the passage of the appropriation bill it would be some accommodation to them.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. I think my colleague desires, if he can, to have opportunity to pass an invalid pension omnibus bill, which would naturally come up to-morrow.

Mr. WINGO. The gentleman understands there is another bill which has the right of way, which will provoke a great deal of discussion. If there is an understanding that that will not be taken up and that to-day will be confined to these appropriation bills, I have no objection.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. That will not come up to-day.

Mr. MONDELL. My expectation is that we will dispose of the pension bill, and that a unanimous-consent request may be made then to pass an omnibus pension bill. We do not contemplate any other business to-day.

Mr. WINGO. Then we are to confine ourselves to-day to matters about which there is no controversy?

Mr. MONDELL. Entirely.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Illinois that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 15344) making appropriations for the payment of invalid and other pensions of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the pension appropriation bill, with Mr. McARTHUR in the chair.

The Clerk reported the title of the bill.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the first reading of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen can obtain a copy of this bill with the report at the desk. The report fully explains the bill and contains other information that will be interesting to the House and prove a labor saver to the individual Member who has not given attention to the matter.

This bill calls for appropriations amounting to \$265,000,000, a reduction of \$14,000,000 from the appropriations for the present fiscal year.

The decrease is not an item of economy for which the committee claims any credit. It is due to the decrease in the number of pensioners.

Death has taken 35,000 of the veterans of the Civil War in the last year, and more than 120,000 in the last five years.

The committee has no pride in presenting this decreased appropriation for pensions.

It is still a large appropriation, but it represents one of the most sacred obligations of the Government—one we can not ignore if we would, and one we would not ignore if we could.

It represents the debt of gratitude the people owe to their defenders, and they will willingly pay that obligation, now as in the past, and in the future as in the present.

This bill does not represent the full extent of our obligation to the defenders of the Nation. It carries the pensions for those who were in wars prior to the great World War.

But a small number of men engaged in the war with Germany are cared for in this bill. The obligation to the millions who were enrolled in the Army and Navy in that war will be met by other appropriation bills, for compensation for death and disability, for medical and hospital services, for vocational education, for maintenance of soldiers' homes, and for administration of these agencies.

These appropriations will be larger than those in this bill, and the total appropriations to meet the obligations to the defenders of the country will amount to \$575,485,490.

It is a large amount this Congress is called upon to appropriate to care for the men who surrendered their places and opportunities in civil life to sacrifice health and life for the

common welfare, but we can not and dare not talk of economy in meeting such an obligation.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. BLANTON. There is just one item in the bill about which I desire to ask the gentleman. The last clause of the bill provides that during the next fiscal year the Government may expend \$500,000 for examining surgeons.

Mr. CANNON. That becomes necessary because of the fact that the Fuller bill increased the pensions of those who are entirely helpless. The \$500,000 is to meet such expenditure, for the pay of surgeons for full investigation of the various claims. I may say to the gentleman that so long after the Civil War, those who survive in the main are entirely helpless.

Mr. BLANTON. That is the very reason I asked the question. We assume that the present survivors are practically helpless. That being the case, why is it necessary to have such a tremendous overhead on this item of examining surgeons when possibly their action will be taken for granted?

Mr. CANNON. Nothing is taken for granted by the Pension Office and never has been heretofore. The strictest examination is made. These veterans surviving from past wars, prior to the World War, are dying very rapidly. They are scattered all over the country and are making applications, and after the most careful estimates these appropriations to pay the overhead charges are made, not only as a matter of justice to the claimants but as a matter of protection to the Government itself.

Mr. BLANTON. Does the gentleman know how much overhead charge there is for every dollar that actually goes to the service men who are receiving rehabilitation to-day?

Mr. CANNON. The sundry civil appropriation bill and possibly the legislative bill will carry those appropriations. This bill does not.

Mr. BLANTON. I was raising the question because I was in hopes that the gentleman's party was going to relieve the Government of most of this unnecessary overhead which seems to be connected with every expenditure of every fund that the Government appropriates. I understand now that we have numerous men on the pay roll drawing salaries from the Government compared with the service men who are receiving rehabilitation in this country.

Mr. CANNON. I fancy the gentleman is laboring under a mistake, but let that be as it may. There are large expenses that will have to be borne on account of the Lehlbach bill, though there is no appropriation in this bill for that.

Mr. BLANTON. The Lehlbach bill?

Mr. CANNON. Oh, yes; for annuities, retirement in civil life. I would not speak disrespectfully of the civil employees, but this bill is to provide for those who defended and preserved the Government by their service, and while the Pension Office, possibly under the law and the order of the President, will take care of the annuities of those who retire, and so forth, the gentleman can get information touching that point from another source. I did not want to undertake providing for the civil pensioners in this bill.

Mr. BLANTON. I am not now objecting to what our war survivors receive.

Mr. CANNON. And we have not done so. The sundry civil appropriation bill no doubt will take care of that.

Mr. BLANTON. It is the question of the overhead that I am fighting.

Mr. CANNON. If the gentleman desires to make a motion to reduce this amount, which has been arrived at after careful inquiry from the Pension Office, well and good. The pension officials said that this amount was necessary for the protection of the Government on the one hand and the relief of those who are entitled to the increased pay, who are totally disabled, on the other hand.

Mr. DOWELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. DOWELL. The overhead charges referred to by the gentleman from Texas on account of the vast number of employees in the War Risk Insurance Bureau have been created by agents of his own party, not by agents of the Republican Party.

Mr. BLANTON. But they are paid for by money that we appropriate.

Mr. CANNON. I just want time enough to say that this bill does not carry anything for such overhead charges or otherwise. The sundry civil appropriation bill and possibly the legislative bill will report the appropriations that may be necessary to care for that, as well as appropriations that may be necessary to care for the annuities to civil pensioners—for that is what it amounts to—people who never were in the Army. However,

this House after full discussion, the Senate agreeing, enacted that law. I did not want in this bill to mix, if I may be allowed the expression, the sheep, from my standpoint, with the goats—and I do not want to be understood that I am speaking disrespectfully at all of the civil employees.

Mr. TINCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. TINCHER. On the item which the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] mentioned, is it not the rule that the examining surgeons, who are rendering service in the department for which the gentleman is appropriating, are not overcharging the Government and are not being overpaid?

Mr. CANNON. In my judgment they are not being overpaid.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. Yes.

Mr. CHINDBLOM. I simply desire to call attention to the fact that the Acting Commissioner of the Pension Department states in his letter, which is in the report, which any Member may procure, that during the first five months of the present fiscal year the number of claims requiring medical examination amounted to 72,120. Does not the gentleman from Illinois, after his long experience in this House, hold vigorously and tenaciously to the view that before complaint is made here about an appropriation carried by the report of a committee to a bill thoroughly investigated some elements of fact should be stated upon which the complaint might be based?

Mr. CANNON. Well, that is a matter for each Member to settle for himself. Full information is given in the report. The committee, both the subcommittee and the full committee, approved this bill and ordered its report. In my judgment, the Democratic Commissioner of Pensions, who is responsible for this estimate, after inquiry made his case. The hearings can be had, and the report fully explained the bill, and while I am perfectly willing to answer any questions I can, gentlemen can get the information in less time than I can give it to them, because it is in black and white.

Mr. BLANTON. Will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. CANNON. I will.

Mr. BLANTON. It seems to me that the position of my friend [Mr. CHINDBLOM] is that whenever one of the department heads comes before a committee and says thus and so, that I want \$500,000 for this and it is necessary, that the membership of the House should vote the people's money out of the Treasury to carry out that program and accept that statement without any question at all, and that they must vote for large sums to carry out the wishes of the department heads whether it is necessary or not.

Mr. CANNON. I have a very high respect for the gentleman and approve of his industry, and at times his courage in protecting the Treasury, but once in awhile I think he goes off a little bit half cocked. [Laughter.] I will say—and it meets my approval at times, but there is no necessity for it on this occasion. The matter has been thoroughly investigated, and we believe that the debt that we owe to the men on the Union side in the Civil War, who are dying by the wholesale and becoming helpless, shall not be halted when they make good their claims under the Fuller bill. The War with Spain is cared for. The Pension Office administers that law, and I may say in passing I voted for that law, but for between 50 and 60 years the Union soldiers of the Civil War had to trace their disability from service and injuries, wounds, disease contracted in the line of duty, and yet for the War with Spain, for the first time in the history of the Government, we provide a service pension for those who were engaged in that war. One of them or many of them might be attacked by disease or disability not contracted in the line of duty, and yet under that law the gentleman voted, and I voted, that they get a service pension, not for injuries received in that war or diseases contracted in that war but for injuries that may be received to-day not at all connected with the war. Oh, the committee has finally investigated and reported this bill, and it is for the House to approve the bill on the one hand or amend it on the other if the majority desires to do so.

Mr. HASTINGS. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CANNON. Certainly, I will yield for a question.

Mr. HASTINGS. I was going to ask as a matter of information, and I make my inquiry of the gentleman knowing he is very familiar with it, these surgeons who are provided for are located conveniently throughout the country, are they not?

Mr. CANNON. Yes; and many in the office.

Mr. HASTINGS. But they are located all over the United States?

Mr. CANNON. Oh, yes.

Mr. HASTINGS. And convenient for an examination of these applicants who are provided for under the Fuller bill?

Mr. CANNON. In most instances you may say that as a general rule that is the case.

Mr. HASTINGS. And the Fuller bill is the occasion for the increased appropriation in this item?

Mr. CANNON. In part.

Mr. SMITH of Idaho. Is it not also true that these surgeons only receive a fee of \$2 for examining these men, and if they were not soldiers they might charge \$10 or more for such examination?

Mr. CANNON. However that may be, I do not know. I am not fully up in the charges by surgeons. Travel pay is provided for, and in many instances there is something for travel pay. After all, I do not think the experts are being paid an unduly high price. Now, if there are no further questions, I have taken all the time that I desire, and will yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. OSBORNE].

Mr. McANDREWS. Mr. BANKHEAD would like to have about 10 minutes and the gentleman from Texas [Mr. JONES] about 5 minutes, and those are the only requests for time I have.

Mr. CANNON. Then I will yield to the gentleman from California later, and the minority may yield time now.

Mr. McANDREWS. I desire to yield some time and these gentlemen desire to get through. As I understand, the gentleman from California wants to get in an hour, if possible, and wants some of our time. The only requests for time I have now are for 10 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama and 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. CANNON. Then I reserve the balance of my time. The gentleman is entitled to an hour in his own right.

Mr. HASTINGS. It has not been provided.

Mr. McANDREWS. I will yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, there is a matter that does not relate to this pension bill which I think is a matter of sufficient importance to the ex-service men of the country to call to the attention of members of the committee, and particularly to any such members of the Committee on Military Affairs as may be present. It will be recalled that we made provision that to every man who was discharged from the service there was issued certain equipment, including overcoat, service uniform, and certain other articles of standard equipment. Now, under the national defense act of 1916—and I would like to have the attention of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McKENZIE] to this proposition—under the provisions of section 125 of the national defense act it was provided that the men who were discharged from the service would only be allowed to wear their uniforms on occasions of ceremony, but Congress evidently intended by the act which was passed on February 28, 1919, to extend that privilege to the ex-service men, because in that act (H. R. 13336, 65th Cong., Feb. 28, 1919) it provided:

That any person who served in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps in the present war may, upon honorable discharge and return to civil life, permanently retain one complete suit of outer uniform clothing, including the overcoat, and such articles of personal apparel and equipment as may be authorized, respectively, by the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, and may wear such uniform clothing after such discharge: *Provided*, That the uniform above referred to shall include some distinctive mark or insignia to be prescribed, respectively, by the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy, such mark or insignia to be issued, respectively, by the War Department or Navy Department to all enlisted personnel so discharged.

Under this law ex-service men could wear the uniform at any time or place they desired.

Now, in the naval appropriation act which was approved June 4, 1920, section 8 undertakes to repeal the act of February 28, 1919, and to reinforce the provisions of the original section 125 of the national defense act of 1916. Under that, as now construed by the War Department and the Department of Justice, orders have been issued by the Department of Justice to make arrests of all men not now in the service who are found wearing the uniform of the United States, whether they were honorably discharged from the service or not, and a number have been arrested, as I see by the Birmingham papers, of my State.

I find upon investigation of the RECORD this morning that the naval bill, so far as that feature of it was concerned, was passed without any discussion. The effect of this section 8 of the naval appropriation act is to reinstate the provision that these ex-service men, honorably discharged from the service and furnished with this uniform and equipment, are prohibited from wearing them except on occasions of ceremony. While as a matter of fact technically section 8 of the naval bill did not

repeal section 125 of the national defense act, because it refers to the act as having been approved February 28, 1918, whereas the act, as a matter of fact, was approved February 28, 1919, so that technically it was not repealed, yet by construction of the Department of Justice and the Judge Advocate General of the War Department it is repealed, and strict orders have been issued for the prosecution of all men wearing this uniform.

Now, that might appear like a rather trivial matter to bring to the attention of the committee or to the attention of the Committee on Military Affairs; but in these times, with winter coming on, and considering the high price of clothing, affecting possibly 4,000,000 of our young men in this country, it is not in its real analysis a matter of inconsequence; and it seems to me, on mature and full consideration, that this attempted repeal of the right given these men to wear the uniform which the Government issued to them should be remedied by the necessary legislation.

That is the reason why I desire especially the attention of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McKENZIE], because he is on the Committee on Military Affairs. I do not know what reason actuated the Committee on Naval Affairs in inserting that provision in the naval appropriation act, because it was a measure that affected matters not exclusively within their jurisdiction.

I assume that possibly it was predicated upon the fact that some people may have worn the uniform as a disguise, or in order to conceal their real identity and give them some apparent evidence of respectability for the purpose of imposing on the law of the country, or upon the people of different communities. But even if that were true, it seems to me that as a matter of justice and of humanity, if you please, to the great multitude of ex-service men to whom the Government has issued these uniforms, remedial legislation should be enacted that would give them the right to wear that uniform with such distinctive marks as might be designated—and the Secretary of War did designate a red chevron to be worn on the sleeve between the elbow and the shoulder—in order that during the rigors of the coming winter these men might have the right to wear these uniforms when they saw fit.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Alabama yield to the gentleman from Wyoming?

Mr. BANKHEAD. I will be glad to.

Mr. MONDELL. I am very much interested in what the gentleman says. I agree with him fully that if the departments are interpreting the law as the gentleman asserts, there should be legislation on the subject.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I can assure the gentleman that there is no question about that interpretation, because I called up the Department of Justice and the office of Gen. Kreger, the Acting Judge Advocate of the War Department, and both branches of the Government are giving the interpretation to this act that I have just suggested to the committee, and in pursuance of those instructions arrests in certain parts of the country are now being made. You gentlemen will hear from your respective districts within a few days, if you have not already heard, that arrests are now being made. Some eight or nine men, according to the Birmingham Age-Herald that I received this morning, have been arrested by orders of the district attorney because they are wearing the uniform issued to them by the Government of the United States.

Mr. MONDELL. Surely Congress never intended that they should be denied the right to wear the uniform which Congress provided they should retain.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Section 8 of the naval act, which I have referred to, reads:

That section 125 of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916—

That is the one that limits the wearing of the uniform to occasions of ceremony—

shall hereafter be in full force and effect as originally enacted, notwithstanding anything contained in the act entitled "An act permitting any person who has served in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps in the present war to retain his uniform and personal equipment and to wear the same under certain conditions," approved February 28, 1918—

The act was approved February 28, 1919, as a matter of fact—*Provided*, That the words "or the Secretary of the Navy" shall be inserted immediately after the words "the Secretary of War," wherever those words appear in section 125 of the act approved June 3, 1916, hereinafter referred to.

There is the authority, I will state to the gentleman, that the Department of Justice and the Judge Advocate General of the Army are acting upon, contending that although there is a clerical misprision or inadvertence in the repealer here with reference to the year, yet by legislative intent and construction

Congress doubtless intended by the passage of this act to place that restriction upon the wearing of the uniform. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. McANDREWS. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. JONES].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. JONES of Texas. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, a few days ago the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. LUCE] raised the point of order that the measure reviving the activities of the War Finance Corporation was out of order because of the fact that it might raise revenue; that while that was not its primary purpose, still it might do so, and that it was therefore obnoxious to that provision in the Constitution requiring all bills raising revenue to originate in the House of Representatives. I realize that it is now an academic question inasmuch as the measure has already been enacted by the House, but it is a question that will probably be raised frequently in the future; and inasmuch as somebody has suggested that the House acted as it did because of the fact that the agricultural interests were concerned, and did not take time to consider the question on its merits, I think it may not be amiss to read an excerpt from a decision from the United States Supreme Court. In the case of the *Twin City Bank v. Nebeker* (167 U. S., 196) a question was presented which I think is identical in substance with the one that was before the House at that time.

It seems that under the act of June 3, 1864, provision was made that national banks of this country might issue circulating notes by depositing certain bonds with the Treasury Department. The preparing of forms and dies and the actual printing necessarily cost some money. In order to take care of that cost the Senate of the United States placed on the bill an amendment which taxed the national banks issuing those notes a sum to cover the expense of the dies and the forms and the printing of the notes. In order to be sure that there should be a sufficient amount thus collected in the form of a tax they made the tax more than was necessary to cover the actual expense, providing at the same time that any excess of tax should be covered into the Treasury of the United States. One of the banks of this country tried to avoid the payment of the tax, claiming as their excuse for not wanting to pay it that the amendment was placed on the bill in the Senate of the United States, that it was a revenue measure, and that all bills raising revenue, under Article I, section 7 of the Constitution, must originate in the House of Representatives.

Frequently it is the case that the kernel of an article can be stated in a single sentence. The Supreme Court of the United States, Justice Harlan rendering the opinion, decided that specific case, and I will read the deciding sentence of the case.

Mr. Justice Story has well said that the practical construction of the Constitution and the history of the origin of the constitutional provision in question proves that revenue bills are those that levy taxes in the strict sense of the word, and are not bills for other purposes which may incidentally create revenue.

The tax was sustained by the court on the ground stated.

In this particular measure a tax was levied to pay certain expenses. The main and primary purpose of the bill was to provide for the issuing of circulating notes. There was a provision in the measure that there should be a tax, which tax more than covered the expense of issuing the notes and the forms and dies that were used in printing the same. The provision was that the excess should be paid into the Treasury of the United States, and that was done. That presented a direct issue, the same one which was raised the other day, and I think this fully justifies the House in its decision. I just wanted to call attention to that case. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. CANNON. Does the gentleman desire some more time?

Mr. JONES of Texas. No.

Mr. CANNON. I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. OSBORNE].

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Chairman, I am strongly in favor of the bill that is before the House. I believe that proper care in the way of pensions for those who serve their country in war is one of the most important matters that Congress has to deal with. I believe that the future success of our country, when it shall unfortunately be thrown into war, will be greatly influenced by the manner in which we treat the soldiers of America. Our country has in all its history been thoughtful and tender of those who have bared their breasts to the storms of war, who have taken their lives in their hands for their country, and it is well that this should be so. It is not, how-

ever, my intention to speak upon the subject of this bill further than I have already done.

During the summer just past a number of Members of this House and certain Members of the Senate made a trip to the Orient, and it was of so interesting a nature that it has occurred to me that it might be of some value to Congress that something be said about this trip. I will omit any reference to the earlier part of the journey across the ocean and take up the subject of our experiences and observations in China.

Going to China, to one who has never been in the Orient, is like dropping off the earth into an entirely different world. The ways of the people and all the conditions over there are so different to those that we are accustomed to that everything in regard to it was to me most interesting. It is a most wonderful country. The Chinese figure their population at 440,000,000 in a country perhaps one-third larger than continental United States. Although one may know that China is a vast country, yet it is a surprise to realize its extent by traveling over it. We went into the interior of China, traveling by rail-ways about 2,500 miles. We entered at Shanghai, which is some 600 or 700 miles north of the southern boundary of China, and which is about on a line with New Orleans. The farthest point north that we reached in our journey was Mukden, in Manchuria, which is on the parallel of New York, and there are still some hundreds of miles farther north.

THE GREAT YANGTZE RIVER.

On the 5th of August, 1920, just a month after sailing from San Francisco, the *Great Northern* was approaching the mouth of the greatest river of Asia, navigable for 2,000 miles, the Yangtze. Like the Mississippi, it has a vast delta, and discolors the ocean with its silt for a great distance, probably 50 miles or more. The first glimpse of Asia is in the form of a large group of islands, known as the Chusan Islands, to the south and east of the river's mouth. The islands are rocky, not large, and most of them show but little vegetation. The first signs of approaching land consist of numerous Chinese fishing boats, with square sails made of matting stretched out on bamboo poles. These boats are about the size of those in the fishing trade off the southern California coast, and in lieu of the gasoline engines with which our boats are equipped each has a big pair of eyes painted on the bow, so that the craft may look out for and avoid approaching danger, and also to enable it to observe and locate the schools of fish. These painted eyes are said to be very efficacious, and no Chinese fisherman would sail on a craft that was so poorly equipped that it had no eyes. It would invite disaster and be very bad luck.

The Yangtze is so wide at the mouth—26 miles—that the shores can not be seen on either side, and several miles must be traveled up the river before the faint dark lines are seen that indicate land. Many ships are met going out to sea, those flying the Japanese flag being more numerous than the American, British, and all others combined. As the river narrows one can see that the delta lands, as would be anticipated, are extremely fertile and intensively cultivated. The deep green of tall, vigorous crops extends in every direction as far as the eye can reach, with many villages well built in the Chinese fashion.

THE CITY OF SHANGHAI.

The city of Shanghai is not on the Yangtze proper, but on the Whangpoo River, a much narrower stream, which empties into the Yangtze 13 miles below the city. The Whangpoo bears an enormous commerce, and is crowded with craft of every description, from the ocean liners to odd-looking barges, and hundreds of sampans.

After a brief stop at the quarantine station, where health officers came aboard to see whether there were any cases of contagious disease on our ship, we proceeded to the Standard Oil Dock, 4 miles below the city. There all passengers, with their luggage, were transferred to a small steamer, and, accompanied by a welcoming committee, proceeded to a landing at a busy point on the Bund, which is the name given to the city's beautiful parklike front on the Whangpoo. Back of the park is a wide cement-paved street, faced by very fine buildings, which are the homes of the great Asiatic banking institutions, large corporations, popular clubs, and so forth. The buildings are not skyscrapers, but are from three to five or six stories in height, built more in the European than the American style of architecture, and very stylish and attractive.

We were greatly surprised at the enthusiastic and spontaneous character of our reception. There were thousands of Chinese people gathered, possibly from curiosity, and representatives of the municipality and of the Province, beside the American consular officers, committees of patriotic Chinese organizations, and so forth. It was an awfully hot day, and a

correspondingly hot task to get located in the waiting automobiles to be taken to the hotels. Our smiling Chinese hosts, fine large men, most of whom spoke excellent English, helped us the best they could. But with the crowds of people, the men stripped to the waist and the smaller children stripped to the soles of their feet, the swarms of jinrikishas, and the loud shouting in Chinese, which seems a necessary accompaniment of any important undertaking in China, it made the transfer a very hot job.

We went direct to the foreign office of the Province—that of Kiangsu—where we were formally received by the civil governor, the military governor, the commissioner of foreign affairs, and the other officers of the Province. It is one of the peculiarities of China that each of the Provinces has a foreign office, in addition to that of the central government. Such a reception in China always includes refreshments on a very generous scale, and this was far from being an exception. These include tea and cakes of all sorts and usually soda water, lemonade "silence" water (distilled), and sometimes wine and liquors. The bad character of the water throughout China affords an excuse if not a reason for drinking other potables. The water in general use for bathing, etc., is not considered safe to drink, and at the rooms in hotels there is always a bottle of drinking water, called "chow" water. Typhus and typhoid fevers and cholera are the diseases most common and most feared.

As soon as our reception was over, about 6.30, we went to the hotel and registered and endeavored to "settle down" and get ready for a great dinner. Our luggage was in one big pile—about a carload of it—in the basement of the hotel, and I risk nothing in saying that it was another hot job getting it out. The cellar was like a damp furnace and was stuffed with shouting, half-naked coolies, who would pack your pieces of luggage to your room after you had been so successful as to retrieve them from the dreadful pack. It was an hour to test the courage of the bravest men and the patience of the gentlest women. The hour finally passed, however.

By the time that we had cleaned up and cooled off the hour for dinner had arrived—9.30 p. m. They permitted us to dress informally, but it was a very swell affair. It was presided over by a former minister of foreign affairs, and one of the speakers was the first President of the Chinese Republic, Dr. Sun Yat Sen. He spoke nearly an hour and made some startling statements, one to the effect that he had brought on the war between the north and south of China for the purpose of frustrating Japanese designs. Another was C. T. Wang, one of the two Chinese commissioners to the peace conference at Paris, who, with Dr. Wellington Koo, now Chinese minister at Washington, refused to sign the treaty because of the Shantung concession to Japan. He is a very capable and logical man, quite young and prepossessing, and everybody predicts that he will cut a large figure in China in the future. There were 300 or 400 people at the dinner, including members of the fine American colony, prominent Chinese in official and business life, as well as our own party.

We remained in Shanghai until Monday, August 9, and had a very full program. It is an active business city, considerably Europeanized. There are thousands of small Chinese shops, but there are also great Chinese stores of all sorts—jewelry stores as large as those of our most important American cities, silk and embroidery shops, and very large and well-stocked department stores. One such is a one-priced store, at which you may buy or not, without the customary haggling that is the rule generally in China. Usually it is absolutely necessary to haggle, as the seller invariably asks two or three times and perhaps ten times what he expects to get.

The streets of Shanghai are most animated and the scenes astonishing to an American who sees them for the first time. Pretty nearly everything is done by human power. It is true that there are street car lines with small crowded cars and a good many automobiles, but the great bulk of street transportation is by jinrikishas, the power for which is a lithe coolie, who gets between the thighs and trots off with his "fare" at a surprising speed. They rarely cease from a steady trot, and then only in climbing a hill or in case of an interruption of traffic by congestion or otherwise. The vehicle is somewhat like a grown-up baby carriage, and on smooth asphalt-lined pavements like those of Shanghai is a decidedly comfortable means of conveyance. There is a carriage top, which may be up or down, as the passenger may prefer, but in the glaring sun and intense heat experienced in China one almost invariably insists on having the top up. The rikisha man is usually stripped to the waist and his legs and feet are bare. As he steadily and patiently trots along the perspiration stands out on his brown body and arms, and often his head and face. At first one has some compunctions about riding behind these human ponies at the low fares that govern them by municipal law, but as their occupation

is their only way of earning a living one concludes that it is a poor way of displaying sympathy to curtail their employment. Shanghai swarms with them by the thousand, and there they are the principal means of locomotion, while in some cities they are the only means.

But the propulsion of rikishas is only one of the many uses to which human power is put on the streets of Shanghai and other Chinese cities. Wheelbarrows with side seats are used for cheaper human transport. All freight and transport business on the streets is done by men. Thousands of men carry huge loads suspended from the two ends of a strong bamboo pole, or one big load in the middle of a bamboo, with two stout, half-naked coolies at each end. Then there are the enormous wheelbarrows, with large wooden wheels, on which a single man will carry an incredible load. Sometimes he will have a helper, often a little boy, who, with a rope over his shoulder attached to the barrow, will tug away and do his share in towing. The next larger means of transport is a big two-wheeled cart, with two men working around the cart and the load, and from four to six others tugging away at separate ropes. They proceed with a mournful sort of cry or song and move a quantity of heavy goods or rocks sufficient to make a good big truck load. I do not remember to have seen a single auto truck or one drawn by horses in Shanghai. When one considers the fact that this is a great commercial city, handling a vast volume of commodities of every description it will be realized what is done there by human power and strength alone.

The policing of Shanghai is largely done by tall, hairy-faced Sikhs, wearing red turbans and a khaki-like uniform. They carry a stick about 2½ feet long, which they handle something like kings are supposed to handle a scepter when in position as traffic officers, resting it on the right hip and pointing out at an angle of about 40 degrees. They are extremely businesslike and stand for no nonsense. When they wave their sticks or their hands traffic either stops or proceeds, as may have been indicated. There was always one of these tall, unemotional chaps in front of the hotel to look out for the hotel guests coming and going in autos or rikishas. When a man would come out of the hotel looking as though he wanted a conveyance the riksha men would come rushing from the opposite side of the street with their machines like a school of fish after a crippled minnow. It was the duty of these Sikhs to keep them in order, and I saw them on two occasions cuff riksha men who rushed in too swiftly, and no gentle cuffs, either. Unlike an American cabman, they put up no argument.

With two or three exceptions like this, I saw no violence of any sort in China. With all the crowding on the streets, occupied by countless thousands, I never saw a man strike another, and I saw only one case of a heated argument, and that was between two riksha men in Peking. There was much talk, but that was all. In America one would have thought that there was going to be a "scrap," but the bystanders evidently knew better and were apathetic.

The River Whangpoo, which constitutes the harbor of Shanghai, with its hundreds of quaint craft and its beautiful bund, is sufficiently interesting to engage more extended description. There is everything, from the stately liners from Europe and America to the humble fishing craft and boats carrying fruit and vegetables, with their square matting sails, and a large population on the water.

While there is a large variety of fruit in China, due to warnings from all people of experience, we did not eat much of it. We were cautioned not to eat any fruit or vegetables uncooked, as there was danger of dysentery or cholera. I did, however, test nearly everything once. Fine and even brilliantly skinned apples were quite dry and punky inside. The peaches were better, but not up to ours at home. Pears are very fair. Watermelons, some red and some yellow inside, taste very well, but are especially dangerous to Americans in hot weather.

Our second day, Friday, August 6, was given to entertainments more or less formal. In the morning our Chinese friends took us to the spacious grounds of their athletic association, where we saw some remarkable athletic work in Chinese boxing, sword and spear contests, and so forth. After that we went to a Chinese cotton mill, where they recently put in American machinery and were having great success. We took luncheon with the American Chamber of Commerce, a splendid body of business men, who told us of some of their difficulties in establishing and conducting American business enterprises in China. In the early evening we were the guests of 21 associations, mostly Chinese public welfare organizations, at a luncheon. There were several hundred people present, ladies and gentlemen, in a large Chinese restaurant.

On Saturday, August 7, the *Great Northern* sailed back for America and took about half of our party, who could not wait

for the *Madawaska*, which would not sail from Yokohama until September 10.

On Sunday, August 8, a very hot day, we rested in the forenoon, and in the afternoon took rickshas to the house of Mr. Tong, a former minister of the treasury, who talked to us about China's finances and the consortium, to which he was opposed. Mr. C. T. Wang, the able young man that I have heretofore referred to, was one of those present.

A GREAT DAY IN HANGCHOW.

Monday morning, August 9, ended our stay in Shanghai, which was marked by great cordiality, not only upon the part of our countrymen, 3,500 of whom live there, but especially on the part of the Chinese of all classes, large delegations of whom saw us off at the station with a Chinese band and a company of Chinese soldiers.

At 7.30 a. m. we took a special train, furnished by the Chinese Government, for Hangchow, four hours' travel to the southwest. The cars were compartment cars, built on the European model, with a corridor running along one side of the car. The seats can be made into berths for sleeping at night and are quite comfortable. The attendance, also Chinese, was excellent.

This trip to Hangchow, being our first penetration of the interior of China, was most interesting. All this section is delta soil and extremely fertile. It is a great silk-producing country, and mulberry trees are grown very extensively, as well as sugar cane, tea, cotton, and wheat. Rice is the principal product. The cultivation is most intensive and everything under such cultivation responds vigorously. I never saw such growth anywhere before. Not a rod of ground is left uncultivated, except the graves of the dead, which are marked by mounds of earth scattered about the fields. Chinese regard the graves as sacred and will not have them violated or the ground used for any purpose, although they frequently cultivate between the graves even when quite close together. These graves I observed all over China, and they seem to cover more ground in the north than in the south. Very few animals were in evidence, showing that all parts of cultivation are done by men and women alone.

Hangchow is a city of over 700,000 population, and we were told that it is more essentially a Chinese city than many others; that is, has fewer foreign residents. We were not at all prepared for the enthusiastic reception that we received. It appeared that in honor of the Americans, whom they regard as the great friends of China, they had made the day a holiday, and I believe that it is no exaggeration to say that there were 150,000 of them at the railway station when we arrived. There was a sea of brown faces and half-naked bodies, eager, apparently, to catch a glimpse of those Americans whose country had done so much for China in refusing to assent to the Shantung award, and in other ways. They were not noisy, but their eagerness made a vivid impression on the party.

Bands of music, a body of Chinese soldiers, and Chinese officials met us on the platform. The provincial officials, which are something like our State officers, cut quite a figure in China. There is a civil governor and a military governor of each Province, and I have no doubt that the military governor should go first, so far as real power is concerned. The Provinces have always exercised a stiff "State's rights" power, even under the Empire, but under the Republic they are still more assertive. The military governor of a Province who can get together a large army and manage to feed and pay it has a substantial strength that will not bend to the wishes of the Republic, which practically has no army of its own. This Province of Chekiang has a population of 17,000,000 people.

When we got off the train we were conducted to waiting rickshas, over 100 of them, each decorated with a little American and Chinese flag. There was a great bustle of getting into them, but we were soon trotting off through the dense crowds of people and through very narrow streets, not more than 10 or 12 feet wide, with hundreds of shops on each side, all open in front and Chinese smelling. That is a peculiar smell—a little close and as though something had been burned—but you get it all over China. Sometimes there is a little paving in the street and sometimes not. These stores are of all sorts, but mostly of food. The baker will have some odd-looking confections on a wooden or metal tray, none too clean looking, and the fact that there is a good deal of dust and many flies around does not seem to disturb him or his customers. Our procession passed through miles of these streets—it was a very hot day—and then we came to a beautiful lake, called Westlake. There we transferred to a fleet of wide, flat-bottomed pleasure boats, with canopies, and were rowed across the lake. On the other side we found as many sedan chairs as would accommodate the party. This was a new experience. Each chair had three bearers and they would spell each other. They were pretty

cunning. I got out to walk up a hill to ease up on them, and the bearers went ahead and I saw them no more. So I walked in the hot, tropical sun about a mile and got thoroughly heated up. Our route was about 3 miles up a canyon to a celebrated Buddhist temple. Near the temple the canyon exposes some bald rock faces, and on these large numbers of the figure of Buddha have been carved, some of them hundreds of years ago, with a good deal of skill.

In the temple were 500 figures carved in wood and covered with gold leaf, they being the disciples of Buddha. Each one of the 500 is different in expression and appearance and indicates a different character from the others. They are said to be several hundred years old and they certainly indicate great artistic skill. They are two or three times larger than life size. This temple and all the surroundings are very beautiful and impressive. It is said to be much more than 1,000 years old.

We returned to the lake in the chairs and crossed again on the boats and were taken in rickshas to a large silk mill, where 1,700 people were employed. We saw the whole interesting process, one feature of which is to take the threads from the cocoon. The cocoons are placed in pans of boiling water, and Chinese girls deftly fish them out and unwind the thread from the cocoon and wind it on a spindle.

That evening we were the guests at dinner of the Silk Guild, there being many silk mills in Hangchow. They entertained us with music on many ancient Chinese stringed instruments. The president of the guild made the speech of welcome and I responded for the congressional party. We reached our train about midnight, pretty tired, but with the consciousness that we had, despite the heat and bustle, spent a wonderful day with the hospitable people.

Our train passed through Shanghai in the night and proceeded to the ancient city of Nanking, where we arrived at 11 in the morning of Thursday, August 10. During the night we were frequently awakened at various stations at small cities by the Chinese bands playing American airs, and, looking out of the window, would see the welcoming committees of our hospitable Chinese friends, in formal dress, with the invariable body of infantry soldiers at present arms. It did not matter that the tired guests were all in their beds and the lucky ones asleep or that the hour was midnight or 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning—they were there doing their part just the same.

NANKING AND THE MING TOMBS.

When we arrived at Nanking, which is about 200 miles northwest of Shanghai, there was an immense concourse of people at the station, including the provincial officials, the committees, the troops, the bands, and 3,000 or 4,000 students with banners. After introductions and the exchange of cards, which is rather formal and a little tedious with the temperature a trifle under 100° in the shade, we were taken in waiting autos through the principal streets, landing at the governor's yamen, or capitol building, for luncheon. We made a stop at the Drum Tower, which is a fortress and observation point on a hill and several hundred years old. It is mentioned by Marco Polo, who saw it in his explorations of China more than 500 years ago. The streets of the city, and especially those about the station, were thronged with people to see the Americans. As I mentioned, the Yamen is not a single building, but a large collection of buildings, generally of a single story, but some of them quite spacious and all generally artistic in their design and attractive in their coloring. This description applies to temples and palaces throughout China. When we speak of a fine church or capitol in America it usually refers to a single noble building, or at most to a few buildings. But in China a yamen, a temple, or a palace, particularly the latter, is a large collection, a network, or a labyrinth of buildings. There is a great gateway in front, perhaps 40 or 50 feet wide and 20 feet or more high, of imposing appearance, and usually a high wall around the entire grounds, although there may be a still higher and thicker wall around the entire city.

There is an ancient wall about Nanking, for instance, 70 feet high and 30 feet wide at the base, 20 miles around, much of it still intact. You enter the great gate of the yamen and see a handsome building in front, which you think must be the building, with smaller ones on either side, usually offsetting each other. You pass through the first one and see that there is a still larger one beyond and a number of others at the side. This experience continues until you finally reach the heart of the yamen, the temple or the palace, where probably there is a large and beautiful audience hall.

At the governor's yamen we had a reception from the civil and the military governor and afterwards a luncheon. They endeavored here and everywhere to furnish us as nearly as possible American food, though at dinners bird's-nest soup and

boiled sharks' fins would often creep in. The soup is all right, made from a gelatinous substance that is gathered from the rocks and looks like a bird's nest, but is not. How it gets on the rocks I do not know. The sharks' fins are boiled until they are soft, and they are esteemed a great delicacy by Chinese; but after two or three trials I passed them up, not because they are unpleasant tasting, but because they do not have much taste of any kind.

We found a very fine lot of American educators and missionaries in Nanking, and indeed all over China. They have a national teachers' college with ample grounds, and at 4 p. m. we visited the students in a huge temporary assembly room on the campus constructed especially for the occasion of poles and matting. Its magnitude may be judged by the fact that it was about 300 feet long, about 150 feet wide, and the top 40 feet high, and there were not less than 4,000 students present, who are preparing to teach all over China, when we entered. Not a single nail was employed in the building. There were some young women, but mostly young men. Nearly all these with banners were at the railway station when we arrived. Their earnestness and eagerness and their enthusiasm for America and their evident belief that our country was China's friend, and capable of all things, was most pathetic and thrilling. This feeling regarding America was manifest all over China. The president of the training college made a fine address of welcome, briefly stating what is being done, and one of our Congressmen responded. They sang a hymn or two splendidly, and we all felt on leaving that a really great and valuable work is being done there.

Although Nanking is quite a large city, it has no good European or American hotels, so the good people improvised the dormitories of the Nanking University into a temporary hotel for our benefit. It being vacation, the students were not there, and we had their rooms. They had sent to Shanghai and obtained 100 little iron beds and mosquito bars and little flat mattresses and pillows about an inch thick, and made of corn husks, I think. We had to divide time with the ladies for the single wash room, and for the first time I shaved without a mirror, and there were some other little experiences that I will not mention. But they did so much for us, with such good humor and kind intentions that I ought not to refer to it at all, except as one of the episodes of the journey. And it was awfully hot, too. Among other things which they brought up from Shanghai were automobiles for the party, there being only 30 in the city.

That night the members of the provincial assembly, which would be comparable to our State legislatures, entertained us at dinner in the hall of the house of representatives, it being the same room in which Sun Yat Sen was inaugurated as the first President of the Republic of China. A very good speech was made by the speaker of the assembly, which was translated into English. The reply of one of our party was translated back into Chinese. These translations doubled the time required and made the speech making after a while something of a terror to everybody but the speakers. I tried to remember this the few times that I spoke. These festivals rarely broke up before 11 or 12 o'clock, and when they did, everyone but the speakers was literally "hanging over the ropes."

After a breakfast in one of the lecture rooms of the college, our party got off for the Ming Tombs, which are a few miles outside the city walls. These tombs are very impressive, because of their great age, their enormous dimensions, and their ornamentation and peculiarity of construction. There are really but three tombs at Nanking, but these are the tombs of the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, Hung Hu, and his two successors. The first of these tombs dates from 1393 A. D. The approach to the tombs after passing out of the great wall of the city is by an avenue which leads straight to the tomb entrance. For about a mile the avenue is lined, or guarded apparently, with colossal images cut out of solid granite, of men and various kinds of beasts, commencing with a couple of towers, not unlike Cleopatra's Needle. They are in pairs, each pair of men and beasts being opposite each other, and 300 feet or more from the next couple. As they face each other they are only about 10 or 12 feet apart. The carving is not especially perfect on the horses and the lions, or lion dogs, but is better on the elephants and camels. The horses' legs are thick and clumsy, and their whole contour looks a little jaded, like draft horses after a hard day's work. Another curious feature is that the pairs of animals are alternately kneeling and standing. For instance, one pair of elephants facing each other and kneeling, and the next pair, also elephants, erect. The same with the camels, one pair on their knees, the next pair standing. The men are all erect. They are all colossal in stature, have long beards, heavy swords, rich clothing,

and carry a baton in one hand. Then there are some nondescript animals, unlike anything now existing or that probably ever did exist. There are animals part lion and part exaggerated bulldog. These stretch down along the imperial highway nearly to the great entrance to the tombs. Like the palaces and temples, there are several large buildings to be passed through before reaching the tomb proper.

These buildings are as much as 800 to 1,000 feet apart, with broad stone or marble walks leading from one to the other. Each building is reached by flights of stone steps, in the center of which is a marble passage about 8 feet wide, not of steps but of an incline at the same angle as the steps. This marble center was the pathway of royalty, and in imperial days might not be used by common people. It is seen at the entrance to all imperial palaces and places where the Emperor was accustomed to worship. This marble centerpiece is always most elaborately carved, as deep as 2 inches, with a great variety of elaborate designs, the most frequent and notable of which is that of the dragon, which is always writhing in and out of the other designs. As this carving is very old, the marble is worn down some, and the figures are not as distinct as they were when made, but they can be made out very readily.

Returning to the stone images of the men and animals, I was told that their probable meaning was that these magnificent creatures were servants of the great monarch who occupies the tomb, and their purpose was to impress the people with the greatness of the dynasty, which was served by such magnificent statesmen and animals. I repeat the story for what it may be worth. It sounds rather reasonable.

After passing all these preliminary temples and constructions, the tomb itself is in a big hill, perhaps 1,200 feet long and 400 or 500 feet high, which looks like a symmetrical foothill to a high mountain immediately behind it. The hill may be artificial, and I suspect that it is. It is faced by a strong, high wall. Inside this hill lie the remains of the great Hung Hu and his two immediate successors. The hill has never been penetrated, and it is not known what it may contain besides the bones of the dead monarchs, but it is thought that there may be great riches. Although the tombs are not disturbed, there seems to be no great reverence for them. Chinese run up and down on the sculptured marble centerpieces—the imperial highway—on a superstition that it will bring good luck. They also set tables in the temples and served our party with cooling drinks, hot tea, and cakes. This was done everywhere in temples.

Quite near the tombs is a Government agricultural experiment station, of which an American has charge, and he showed us what interesting things were being done along agricultural lines.

After that we returned to the city, attended a chamber of commerce bazaar, and visited the Temple of Confucius. This is an elaborate and beautiful temple of many artistic buildings, such as I have described. It appeared rather neglected, with dust gathering on the images, a condition that marks most of the temples in China.

Our last visit was to a place of intense interest—the examination halls, where under the centuries-old system of classical examinations young men were placed in narrow stone or brick cells for three days and nights, during which time and under which conditions they prepared their examination papers, upon which all their future would depend. There were 27,000 of these cells—some say 30,000—and at stated intervals these were filled with young men to undergo the examinations. They were locked in and not permitted to communicate with each other or with anyone else. The cells, thousands of which remain intact, although a great many have been destroyed, are all alike, about 2½ feet by 4 feet square and less than 6 feet high. I went into one and tried it, and I was a close fit. There was a place in the wall to put a board for a seat and one higher up for another board for a table. Just how they closed the front I could not tell. But they did shut them in, and there was a watch tower in the center overlooking the entire examination halls to see that none of the students should get out or communicate with each other or with anyone else. To remain in those cells for three days and nights must have been a severe test upon the nerves of the students, and on top of that to prepare a thesis and examination papers a difficult task. It is said that only 2,000 or 3,000 out of the 27,000 to 30,000 entrants were accustomed to pass, and that many went insane and occasionally one died in his narrow cell. I can well believe it, as three minutes was enough for me, with the front part of the cell wide open and no examination to worry about. I had to tramp through the weeds to reach the cell, as none of them are in use now, or have been since the institution of the Republic nine years ago.

Before leaving Nanking I should say that it is a city of great historical importance, running back 2,500 years, or to the time of the establishment of the Roman Republic. At various times it has been the capital of China, and its name denotes "the southern capital." It was the scene of much fighting during the revolution, and it was bombarded both by the imperialists and the revolutionists. The city was captured by the Taiping rebels in 1853 and by the British Navy in 1842.

Late in the afternoon we left Nanking, crossed the Yangtze River on a ferryboat, and boarded a new special train, which was to take us through to Peking. It was an excellent train, somewhat better than that which we left. The Yangtze is a noble river, and at this point much reminds one of the Mississippi in its lower reaches. Its muddy waters are of the same color.

THE SACRED MOUNTAIN OF TAI-SHAN.

The morning of Thursday, August 12, found us at the small town of Tai-an, which is the nearest point to the sacred mountain of Tai-Shan. The summit of the mountain, which is referred to several times in the writings of Confucius, is said to have been a favorite resort of the great philosopher for contemplation. For several hundred years it has been the object of the pilgrimages of hundreds of the disciples of Confucius and others. There are several temples on the top of the mountain, which is about 5,000 feet above sea level and 4,500 above the railway station of Tai-an. This is in the celebrated Province of Shantung, where Confucius was born, lived, and was buried. The distance is said to be 13 miles from the station to the top of the mountain, but I should judge it to be somewhat less.

The method of conveyance and the character of the road traveled are most surprising. Rickshaws can not go over the road, and wagons and autos still less so. So there is nothing to it but to be carried by men in so-called sedan chairs or litters. When we reached the station at 9 in the morning of August 12 we found just outside 60 or 70 of these chairs—enough for our party and the Chinese officials accompanying us—and fully three or four times as many sturdy Chinese bearers. The chairs were of very crude and simple construction—the seat being made of netted rope—and a top covering of thin cloth on a frame to protect the passengers from the sun, which was extremely hot. The seat would have been very uncomfortable if blankets were not used to cover the ropes.

We went out in a long procession through the narrow streets of the town, lined on each side with the characteristic Chinese shops, our feet hanging down to a sort of stirrup, which is long enough to accommodate both feet. The chairs were more primitive than those in which we rode at Hangchow, and when they were let down to the ground we also were let down flat to mother earth. After passing through the city wall, we proceeded across a plain about 3 miles and then commenced the ascent of the mountain. At first this was gradual, following up a brisk mountain stream. Soon we entered a canyon, which was precisely like many such that I have traversed in California, the stream marking the bottom of the canyon. The trail or road was a wide one, in excellent repair, and as it grew steeper we commenced to make the raises by steps, formed of rock, mostly granite. These steps at first came in flights of 3, 4, or 5, but they increased rapidly in number as the mountain became steeper, until there would be 10 or 15 at a time; then a level place for a way, and then another flight of steps. These granite steps were from 10 to 15 feet long and about 6 inches high. At first you had a sense of insecurity while being carried up these steps, but the bearers would shift their straps over one instead of both bare shoulders and the passenger would be borne sideways; and the bearers are very sure-footed. They and their forebears are said to have been in this business for generations.

Cedar trees line the way for considerable distances, and the stream that I have mentioned exposed the formations, which consisted of granitic schists with inclusions of quartz, and diorite. On many of the canyon walls large faces of granite had been smoothed off and inscriptions sculptured upon them in Chinese characters. I was told that these inscriptions, which were made by pious persons of means, sometimes exalted the wisdom and virtue of Confucius and sometimes described and lauded some conspicuous beauty of nature close by, such as the bald canyon wall itself or some fair view, or the loveliness of the mountain stream. There were many small shrines and inscriptions along the way and quite a number of places where pilgrims and bearers might obtain refreshments of tea and coarse bread. At a tea house of better character, about halfway, we all had luncheon. A number of the party turned back

here and returned to Tai-an, the heat and discomfort being too great for them.

One of the sights along this holy way, and a distressing sight it is, is the beggars—men, women, and children, with all manner of human afflictions. They expose their diseased and deformed bodies and limbs in the most horrible way in order to excite compassion. Beggars you see all over China, and they even have beggars' guilds that regulate the industry. If a merchant in a city refuses to give anything, they discipline him by keeping great numbers of their guild in front of his place of business until his customers will no longer go there, thus ruining his business.

As we approached nearer the top of the mountain the grade became steeper and the steps almost continuous. For the last half mile before reaching a great entrance gate they are absolutely continuous. Altogether the raise equals 4,500 feet vertically and there are 7,500 stone steps. When it is considered that this highway has been in constant use from a time several hundred years before the time of Christ it is astonishing that the trail is so good as it is. Thousands of devout pilgrims have gone over these rocks on their hands and knees, and the stairs show the wear from these and from the thousands of bare feet that have climbed them. For the last 400 or 500 feet at the top on each side of the trail great chains attached to iron posts of evident age—they being considerably decomposed by rust—were doubtless placed there to enable pilgrims to assist themselves by pulling themselves up with their hands. The granite steps are much more worn along the outer edges next to the chains than elsewhere, significantly showing that the chains have been thus used to such an extent that the bodies of pilgrims have perceptibly worn down the solid granite.

After passing the great gate at the head of the pass the holy way continues and there is still quite a raise before reaching the top of the mountain and a group of temples there devoted to Confucius. Here we had luncheon in one of the temple buildings.

The view from this point is very beautiful, and Confucius was quite right in selecting such a place for solitude and reflection. On one side the mountain drops off very abruptly several thousand feet and an inspiring view is had of the wide and fertile valley below and the Yellow River in the distance, probably 15 miles away. It reminded me greatly of that slightly drive in the mountains above San Bernardino, approaching Squirrel Inn, on the way to Little Bear Lake, and known as "The Rim of the World."

It took us over five hours to go up the Sacred Mountain, but our bearers made the return down trip in three hours. They would fairly trot down those great flights of steps, which they so laboriously climbed in the earlier part of the day.

ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION AT TSINANFU, CAPITAL OF THE PROVINCE OF SHANTUNG.

At 9 a. m. of Friday, August 13, we reached Tsinanfu, capital of the Province of Shantung, and found a particularly enthusiastic greeting from provincial officials, students, soldiers, and thousands of people. The city has about 300,000 population, and being in Shantung, the Province taken over by Japan as successor of Germany, the people are very much stirred up over the situation in which they find themselves. As the American Senate refused to ratify the clause of the peace treaty which approved the award of Shantung to Japan, the people seemed to entertain a pathetic feeling of gratitude to America, which they lavished upon the visible Members of the American Congress. There is a large Japanese barracks directly opposite the railway station, with a considerable contingent of Japanese troops, but they modestly remained out of sight throughout the stay of the American party in Tsinanfu, and altogether I saw but two Japanese officers on the street and no Japanese soldiers at all. During our entire stay in China the Japanese took no part in the receptions of or entertainment to the party, but reserved their attentions for the time when we should have passed out of Chinese into Japanese controlled territory, that being the railway station at Mukden, Manchuria, when we crossed the station platform from Chinese soil to Japanese-controlled soil on the other side.

The student movement was particularly noticeable at this capital, although it is a strong patriotic movement everywhere in China. We were expected to arrive at Tsinanfu at 11 p. m., but we laid at Tai-an station until 7 in the morning. The Students' Union and the girls of the normal school, to the number of 3,000 or 4,000, remained at the station in expectation that the train might yet arrive until 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. They then went to their homes and were back again before our train arrived, which was about 9 o'clock in the morning. We went all over the city and visited a garden attached to the

municipal buildings, a sort of park, and afterwards the Shantung Christian University, a very fine institution of learning, supported by the various denominations and ably conducted by a cultured Englishman. We made a hurried examination of the museum of the university, which was large and most interesting.

From the university we were taken to the governor's yamen, where we were formally received by the military governor, Tien, and the civil governor, Chu. Afterwards we had tiffin in the palace. Then we went to a military compound, at the invitation of Gen. Ma Liang, who figured prominently in the very recent military struggles about Peking. Gen. Ma looks like a soldier, and has had much to do with installing in his army a system of military athletics of a very vigorous character. About 50 or 60 men participated, all commissioned officers. There was a peculiar kind of boxing, which employs the feet as well as the hands; wrestling, something like the Cornish kind, but with a jiu-jitsu addition, which compels the vanquished to flop or have his arm twisted off; fights between men with swords against spears and with short knives against both. Then a man with a sledge hammer broke a slab of hard rock, 7 or 8 inches thick, which rested on a man's back, and others broke heavy pottery on men's heads. It was a wonderful exhibition of skill and endurance. Gen. Ma is said to be a devoted Mohammedan, and he was on the losing side in the recent struggle about Peking.

Then we had the inevitable tea at the Girls' Normal School, where we were guests, not only of the students but of the chamber of commerce and half a dozen other local organizations.

We then went to Ta Ming Lake, which is a lotus-covered lake many acres in extent, perhaps 100. The flowers were in blossom, and with the elephant-ear leaves the water, which was shallow, was very little in evidence. These great lotus lakes are seen very often in public parks, about palaces, and elsewhere in China.

We boarded wide, flat-bottomed boats, with a canvas top to keep off the sun, and were poled through water channels to a garden with many attractive pleasure buildings on the opposite side. Here another luncheon was spread. We were often given a half dozen of these luncheons a day besides the regular three meals, tea and cakes being the principal feature, but with soda water and lemonade always, and sometimes with other palatable drinks.

That evening the governors had us at dinner, the place selected being the largest Chinese theater, and a play, with acrobatic performances and other forms of entertainment, was given during the dinner. It was after 11 when the party returned to the train, thoroughly tired after a fearfully hot and most strenuous but interesting day.

The capital of Shantung will always be remembered for its patriotism to China, its affection for America, and for its generous hospitality. The civil governor, in his address at tiffin, wanted the United States "to adopt a definite policy toward China."

During the night we proceeded northward, and at about 9.30 a. m. arrived at Tientsin, a city of nearly a million and a half of people. We were met by the usual hospitable officials, bands, bodies of soldiers, and by Col. Morrow, of the Fifteenth United States Infantry, and officers of his staff, their regiment being stationed at Tientsin. We stayed only a short time, as we would pass this city again after our visit to Peking, and would give it a short visit again.

There had been considerable lack of rainfall in northern China, and the crops did not look so well as they did in the southern part. It was said that this will result in great suffering and hunger this winter.

There was a constant repetition of the evidences of good feeling the Chinese entertained toward this great country.

As an illustration, they had taught the military bands, of which there are a great many in the country, to play what they supposed to be American airs. We had Senator HARRIS, of Georgia, along with us, and curiously enough two of the airs which the band seemed to like best were "John Brown's Body Lies Amouldering in the Grave" and "Marching Through Georgia." We told Senator HARRIS that this must be a special tribute to him. [Laughter.]

At every station we came to would be the military governor of the Province, the civil governor of the Province—

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. OSBORNE. Mr. Chairman, I have not started yet. [Applause.]

Mr. EAGAN. Does the gentleman want some more time?

Mr. OSBORNE. I would like some more time.

Mr. EAGAN. How much time does the gentleman want?

Mr. OSBORNE. I would like half an hour.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. McANDREWS] has 45 minutes remaining.

Mr. EAGAN. I will yield the gentleman 30 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for 30 additional minutes.

Mr. OSBORNE. As I was saying, at every station there would be all of these polite officials with a band of music and a company of soldiers who would present arms and officers who would salute, polite people with cards that they wanted to exchange. On one side there would be a place where they served tea and mineral waters and all that sort of thing. They would have those places open whether we stopped or not. I waked up at 11 o'clock, 12 o'clock, 1 o'clock, and one morning at 3 o'clock in the morning hearing the band play "Marching through Georgia." There was the military company and the band and the polite officials when we did not stop at all, and they were staying up until 3 o'clock in the morning to do that courtesy while the party was passing. Very often some of the speeches of these Chinese officials would be very touching, indeed. They would state the very great respect they had for our Government, how the American Government had refused to accept the award that was given during the Boxer troubles when, in fact, that award of some million dollars is being used to send their Chinese students to our educational institutions in this country. There are several hundred here now and they are sending every year several hundred students. They would tell us about that, entertaining the idea that our great country was a country where justice and righteousness prevailed and where we did justice to every man and every nation. They were particularly impressed with the justice of our country toward China itself. They said with their dealings with foreign countries that the United States was the only country that had not taken advantage of them and had not taken from them some of their country, and that that fact endeared our country to them. Often reference was made to the Shantung matter. They were very much interested in the passing of the German title of Shantung to Japan. The fact that one of the branches of this Government had refused to approve the Shantung award seemed to strike them most favorably, and they thought that they had friends in the United States, and in some way they hoped that they could get us to help them out of their troubles. Now, while I am sure I have time I will say one thing. I think it would be great wisdom on the part of our Government to maintain with China that wonderful feeling of friendship which it now entertains for us. It is not limited entirely to political considerations. They want to buy our stuff. There was a great boycott on in China of Japanese goods which pretty nearly paralyzed Japan, because China is their great near-by mart, and I saw one illustration of that. I thought I had it in my pocket, but I have not, and that is a box of matches which were made in Japan. There had been placed on the outside covers, the bottom and top, a label reading "New York cigarettes," they being cigarette matches. One covering had partly come off and showed the Japanese label. The Japanese had labeled the box "New York cigarettes," which gives you an idea of the state of their minds on the boycott. The Chinese want to trade with the United States and can not get the stuff. We have some laws that injuriously affect our foreign trade that ought to be changed. Americans in that country were bringing our attention to it all the time.

Mr. FOCHT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from California yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. OSBORNE. I do.

Mr. FOCHT. I would like to inquire what impression our Christianity has made upon them over there—whether they are still simply idol worshippers—and as to the administration of the laws under the Republic, whether they have prohibition there, and woman suffrage; and if so, how those laws are enforced?

Mr. OSBORNE. The Christian religion is making considerable inroads, but it is small compared with the enormous population. But the missionaries are treated well by the people, and they are making considerable progress. They do not have prohibition or woman suffrage, although they were for a long time in recent years governed by a woman—the Empress Dowager. The Government of the Republic of China is a structurally weak Government. The Government of China was weak as an empire. Their whole atmosphere for several thousand years has tended to that result. One is impressed with the idea that the general belief tends to the doctrine, resist not evil. It is a sort of Quakerlike state of mind that they are in. Their Government is not strong because it is divided up into many Provinces, and the Provinces have a sort of exaggerated "State rights" idea and practice.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OSBORNE. Certainly.

Mr. HICKS. What does the gentleman mean by a "Quaker-like" attitude of mind?

Mr. OSBORNE. Nonresistant. That is the impression made upon me.

Mr. FOCHT. That is the Confucian religion, is it not?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes; that is the result of it. The Confucian religion is a code of ethics, however, rather than a religion.

Mr. MCKENZIE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes.

Mr. MCKENZIE. Did you have any conversation with any of these people in those countries in regard to the proposition of sending our missionaries over there to convert them to the Christian religion, which, of course, means that we will all go to heaven and be in the same place hereafter, and at the same time not permit those people to live with us on this earth? What do you think about the consistency of that? Have you had any conversations with them in regard to it?

Mr. OSBORNE. I had no conversations with them on the subject. However, I will say this, that during all the time I was in China—and while I was there I talked with hundreds of Chinese, with the President of China, governors of Provinces, legislators, and others—and I never heard a complaint from them about the exclusion by this Government of the Chinese coolies; not one single complaint. I believe that they recognize that the laws of the United States excluding Chinese coolies is justifiable.

A WEEK IN PEKING, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF CHINA.

We arrived at Peking at 2.30 p. m. of Saturday, August 14, and the entire congressional party were conducted to the Grand Hotel de Peking, where rooms had been reserved for us. This is said to be about the best hotel in the Orient, and it seemed very pleasant to have a good-sized, comfortable room with a regular bath. A middle-aged, dignified Chinaman in a long white robe, a superior kind of nightgown, with two or three younger subordinates, was always on duty in the hallway, subject to call by the bell. This white robe is something like a dress suit in America—it is worn only by gentlemen in full dress and by servants and waiters. There is another garment much in use in the Orient that was new to me. That is the white mess jacket. It is worn with white trousers, is made like the usual dress coat, but it is minus the swallowtails or any other sort, and stops at the hips like an Eton jacket. I first met it in the Philippines, but it is quite generally used throughout the Orient, and looks like it might be very comfortable. The hotel is about five or six stories high, is built of brick, and quite modern in construction. The lobby is very ample, and there are 8 or 10 little stands where Chinese dealers sell curios, silks, and so forth.

We all went in rickshas to the American Legation, where we were given a reception by the United States minister to China, Mr. C. R. Crane. There we met many Americans, some connected with the legation, but more in business or in missionary and educational work. The legation consists of a number of buildings in a walled inclosure, with quite large grounds—not so large as the British, the French, German, and many other legations, all being in the same neighborhood and adjoining each other. In fact, a high wall incloses all the foreign legations and embassies, and this wall, about 25 feet high and 20 feet thick, was the scene of desperate fighting during the Boxer rebellions in 1900, when the German ambassador was killed and the Japanese ambassador wounded.

From the minister's residence we went to Central Park, which was illuminated in honor of the congressional party by the College Clubs of North China, and a buffet supper was served. There was an immense concourse of people, and while our party was seated—it was in the open air under the trees—the great body of people stood. There was a speech of welcome by Dr. Tsur, a very able college president, responded to by Representative HARDY of Texas. Then came wonderful juggling and acrobatics and a funny shadow play something like Punch and Judy.

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA.

The following morning, Sunday, August 15, we all got up early for a trip to the great wall of China. It was a beautiful, clear morning, though hot. We went by special train due west of Peking, traveling three hours, but I do not think that the distance is more than 50 miles. We had two very fine private cars, one of which is the personal car of the President of China, Hsu Shih Chang, and the other was the imperial car of the late Empress Dowager. The latter was the more elaborately furnished and decorated car. Yellow—the imperial color—was used in great profusion. The abundant draperies were all in yellow silk, and the chairs were upholstered in that color. There were two or three drawing or sleeping rooms and the

balance of the car was thrown into one large and very handsome salon.

To reach the great wall we crossed a wide and fertile valley for 30 or 40 miles, toward a mountain range, and passed many towns and large villages. Soon we entered the foothills, and through winding canyons plunged directly into the mountains, until we reached a station called Nankou. Like all railway stations in China, and also in Japan, even in small places like Nankou there is a long and substantial platform of stone, built up to nearly or altogether the level of the car platform. The Chinese officials had provided a sufficient number of sedan chairs, bearers, donkeys, and drivers to accommodate the party. Amidst a good deal of shouting and talk, without which it does not seem to be the proper thing to start any sort of man-power enterprise in China, some got into the sedan chairs, among them myself, and the younger folks mounted the donkeys, about the size of a burro, and we were off for the great wall, about a mile and a half away. We followed the railroad track a little way, our bearers crossing a railroad bridge on the sleepers where a misstep would have been most disagreeable, and then we branched off into a canyon, between steep, high hills, almost mountains, on a rough, rocky trail. Pack trains of donkeys loaded with loose hay, which takes lots of room on a trail, driven by Chinese coolies with wide-brimmed conical hats, were going in the same direction as ourselves, and made the task of our bearers more difficult, by pushing by with their room-consuming loads, and crowding them off the trail.

We came at last to a great gateway built of stone and brick, 30 or 40 feet high and 60 or 80 feet long. This is called the "Gate of Banishment," and I presume that its name indicates its purpose. The great wall itself is about 500 or 600 feet farther on, with another gate, not so large and striking as the first—this first gate being an "apron" to the real gate—the usual cautious form of entrance. This is in the bottom of the valley or canyon, and through this gate pass the many caravans of camels and horses, laden with goods from the Far East, Mongolia, and Thibet, for the market of Peking. This also was a favorite point of attack upon the wall itself in past centuries of savage tribes from those same distant provinces. They were not always successfully resisted, and the Mongols once captured China and placed a dynasty of their own upon the imperial throne. The people inside the wall were peaceful and industrious agriculturally; those outside were savage and hungry barbarians, to whom the rich and productive fields of the Chinese were an overpowering invitation to ravage and loot. These conditions were those that caused the building of the great wall 2,000 years ago.

From the view which I had at the highest mountain point that I reached I could imagine how the rich garden of China spread out before the eyes of those hungry savages must have looked to them from still greater mountain heights. Looking toward Peking, the view may be compared to that which may be obtained from Mount Lowe or Mount Wilson over the San Gabriel and the Los Angeles Valleys. There is the same fertility and richness of appearance, although, of course, the crops are not the same. The Asiatic savage, however, saw a far more extensive area of productiveness than can be seen from Mount Lowe.

The great wall itself is most impressive, and it is in a remarkable condition of preservation. Of course, it has not been used for defensive purposes for many years. The Chinese themselves invented gunpowder, and that did away with the value of the wall as to its original object. But it is surprising to see how little the main wall is decayed. The top was originally castellated with spaces between the castellations, probably to afford the defenders an opportunity to fire their arrows or spears through the spaces at the enemy and then to dodge behind the castellations themselves. These castellations have largely fallen down, like the chimneys in an earthquake country; but the solid walls themselves are very little breached and stand as firmly as though they had been built a few years ago instead of 20 centuries. One evident reason for this is the engineering skill that devised the walls and located them on the crests of the ridges dividing water sheds, so that no water could get under the foundations and undermine them.

From the "Gate of Banishment" in the valley where we intercepted the wall, it ran up the crest of the ridges in both directions to the tops of the mountains and as far as we could see. The wall does not run exactly straight, but necessarily takes a winding course to keep at the top of the ridges, but its general course at this place is north and south. I got up on the wall—which is not difficult, as there is a sort of inclined runway to the top—and walked a considerable distance on it. Bastions, or watch towers, on the top, which probably sheltered the defending soldiers, occur about every 500 feet, and, while

they are not so well preserved as the wall itself, their arches are still intact, and the structures are in a fair state of preservation. The wall at the top at its narrowest parts is 20 feet wide, and it gradually widens toward each bastion to 30 feet and then narrows again and widens toward the next bastion. The filling between the outside walls appears to be rock and earth, with a pavement on top of brick of large size and an earthen color.

One looks at this immense construction with astonishment and awe. When we reflect upon its immensity, and that every mile of its length was a marvelously big project in itself, that it averages about 30 feet in height, almost perpendicular, and that on the low side it is often 50 feet in height, that it was constructed about 200 years before the birth of Christ, when facilities for heavy construction and the handling of great weights were presumptively very inferior to those of the present day, that the great wall is 2,000 miles in length, and that most of it is in rugged and almost inaccessible mountain ranges, we can but be astounded and filled with wonder as to the means and manner in which this incredible work was done and under what genius of engineering.

I took pains to measure the great blocks of granite that constitute the outer facing of the great wall. They are 5 feet in length, 18 inches in thickness, and 3 feet wide. In the distance they look like bricks, and in the mile or so of the wall that I could see there were thousands of these great slabs. How vast a number there must be in the 2,000 miles of length! How did they cut these great blocks from the quarries, and how transport them up the rugged mountain heights and put them in their proper places in the wall?

Where the wall runs steeply up the mountains, the top is frequently built in the form of steps. I noticed that the wall was much higher on one side than on the other where the hill abruptly fell away on the low side, the top maintaining a consistent grade.

Little Chinese boys on top of the wall had their pockets full of arrowheads of metal, which they claimed to have found around the wall, presumably fired in battles in bygone centuries. Some of our party, despite the great heat, made long trips on the wall, and were pretty red and hot when they got back.

Without mishap of any sort we returned to Peking.

SIGHT-SEEING IN PEKING.

Of all the cities of China Peking is the most oriental and most interesting. There is the atmosphere that comes from reading oriental books. Such street scenes as are described in the Bible might well happen here, like that of the beggar and Lazarus. But above all, it is the land of the Arabian Nights. Aladdin and his wonderful lamp would be easily located here, while a Haroun al Raschid undoubtedly would find many wonderful things in his nightly strolls about the narrow streets of the city. Doubtless there are many times Forty Thieves prowling about the city, and if concealed in big jars waiting for the most convenient time to commence their nefarious operations, there is many a gentle Chinese maiden who would not hesitate to fill the jars with hot oil and thus put an end to the 40 careers and the plot to despoil the house and its virtuous owners.

Mr. DENISON. Mr. Chairman, right there will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes.

Mr. DENISON. Did the party discover any of those thieves behind the counter there as we have them in this country?

Mr. OSBORNE. There were not so many behind the counters in China as we have become accustomed to here at home. [Laughter.]

While we were in Peking a drama of unusual interest was in progress. Shortly before and while we were in the southern part of China several battles had been fought in the neighborhood of Peking and Tientsin; between the troops of the Anfuites, the party then in power in the Chinese Government, and their opponents who claimed that the Anfuite officials were in collusion with the Japanese in despoiling China. The Anfuites were defeated, and their leaders, some of them members of the ministry or cabinet, and other high officials, were at their wits' ends to save their lives or at least not be taken prisoners. The American, British, and other foreign legations declined to receive them in asylum, believing that they could not legally do so; but the Japanese ambassador did receive them in the Japanese Embassy buildings—nine of them—and they were cooped up there, but a short distance from our hotel, while we were in Peking. Pictures of the culprits—who but a few days previously were all-powerful in China—ordering their arrest and offering rewards therefor were plastered about the city, some of them close to the Japanese Embassy, and Chinese soldiers were on duty close enough to the gate to see that they did not escape.

Our week in Peking was a most active one, as there are so many interesting things to see, and our Chinese and American friends desired us to see as many of them as possible. On Monday, August 16, we were taken to the legation to see an inspection of the legation guard of marines. It looked pretty good to see a smart body of American marines, with the American flag at their head, going through their evolutions on a smooth parade ground in this distant part of the world. Minister Crane and the legation staff were present. After the parade we inspected the barracks—all inside the American compound—and found them airy and comfortable and spick and span. The men stand at "attention" when visitors go through their barracks, but that did not prevent me from speaking to several of them.

We then went up on the wall that encircles all the foreign legations, and walked along the wall about a mile. It is about 20 feet high and pretty nearly that width at the top. There is considerable vegetable growth on the top except in front of the American legation where it is kept clear of all weeds.

Our autos met us when we came down from the wall, and we were taken to a wonderful structure and attendant buildings in the middle of a great park called—

"THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN."

At the first gate to the park we were stopped by the guards who evidently expected us to all get out and walk through the park. It was very hot and on request we continued in the machines through a great park of very old arbor vitae trees.

The most notable building in this temple is the prayer one, that in which the Emperor was accustomed to offer prayers for good crops at least once a year. A Chinese friend translated the meaning of its name for me as "The Praying for Good Year Place." In case of severe drought it was also the custom of the Emperor to repair to this beautiful temple, with all possible pomp and ceremony, and pray for rain. As rain usually comes after long drought, his prayers were nearly always favorably answered. So the natives had great faith in his efficacy, and it is said this year, when there is quite a drought in the north of China, many of the suffering farmer folk mourn the fact that there is no Emperor to pray for rain.

The two features that constitute this temple one of the most beautiful structures that I have ever seen are its wonderful coloring and its exquisite symmetry. Perhaps it should be stated the other way, but as one approaches the temple and obtains the first glimpse of it through the archway of an intervening structure, this marvelous coloring first attracts the eye, and the architectural symmetry is only observed after passing through the arch. I have an insufficient knowledge of the details of architecture to properly describe it, and can only say that it was so charming and pleasing to the eye that I could not see in what respect it might be improved. It is not a large building, but its proportions are extremely pleasing. The coloring of the outside of the temple, which is very ornate, is a blending or combination of lapis lazuli blue and gold.

The building is approached by three marble terraces or stages, which are circular and extend completely around the building. Each terrace has a marble fence, it might be called, or balustrade, exquisitely carved, and the terraces are about 5 or 6 feet above each other. The main approach is by a wide marble walk, the central 4 or 5 feet of which is elaborately carved with dragons and other objects, and which runs at an incline on reaching the steps. This central marble pathway was reserved for the Emperor, and none but royalty were permitted to walk on it.

The inside of the "Praying Place" is as beautiful as the outside. The general effect of the coloring is similar and very harmonious, but there are a greater number of colors used.

The temple is pagoda-shaped—round—and the interior is even more beautiful than the exterior. I noticed in the color scheme gold, blue, green, red, and purple in various tints. There is an immense amount of carving of most elaborate designs, upon which this coloring is lavished. There are 15 tall pillars, of great height and size, colored a dark red, ornamented with gold, the interior four pillars being of immense size. There was a throne in the center on a raised platform, where the Emperor prayed, reached by nine marble steps. Red and gold figured more extensively about the dais of the throne. At the foot of the steps was a circular piece of marble, which was called "The center of the world," everything being presumed to radiate from this point on the world's surface. Another curious fact is that the Temple of Heaven is on a straight line and exactly opposite the Emperor's throne in the Imperial Palace in the Forbidden City, 3 or 4 miles away, on the opposite side of the city. An avenue runs directly through the city, from one end to the other. The Chinese are remarkable in their conception and execution of great plans of construction, of which the Temple

of Heaven and its relation to the imperial palaces of the Forbidden City is a conspicuous example. I was greatly impressed with the beauty and grandeur of the Temple of Heaven and wish that I could give you a more adequate description of it than is conveyed in this imperfect sketch.

With others of the party I had tiffin, which is the oriental for luncheon, at the legation with the first secretary—Mr. Rud-dock—and his wife.

In the evening we all dined with the Chinese minister of foreign affairs at the foreign office, a very fine affair, attended by the principal officers of the Chinese Government and their wives and daughters and by the American colony.

Tuesday, August 17, was spent in sightseeing. We visited the Llama Temple, which is an ancient and very beautiful temple; Coal Hill, which is an artificial hill in the imperial gardens in the Forbidden City, originally built to hide a supply of coal when the city was threatened with a siege a long time ago. Now it is crowned with a beautiful temple, colored a peacock green and yellow. We also went to Baihia, the imperial garden, in one of the many buildings of which we attended a reception given to the party by the President of China, Hsu-Shih-Chang. The President is about 65 years old; weighs about 180 pounds; has a very gray mustache, a kindly face, and is somewhat bent. He wore a Chinese costume with a sort of black silk blouse or short coat. After being introduced, I talked a little with the President through an interpreter. His wife, a little woman plainly dressed and but little younger than the President, and their two young daughters were also present, and we were all introduced to them.

I shall not attempt to describe all these wonderful and beautiful temples, but I will briefly speak of two, the Temple of Confucius and the Llama Temple.

THE TEMPLE OF CONFUCIUS

is a very stately edifice, but of marked simplicity. In the central hall are the tables and tablets of Confucius, which have been the objects of worship of thousands of pilgrims. In one courtyard of this temple are 10 celebrated stone drums, bearing poetical inscriptions commemorative of the hunting expeditions of one King Shun, who reigned from 827 to 781 B. C., and in another is a series of stone tables on which are inscribed the names of men who attained the highest literary degree for the last five centuries.

THE LLAMA TEMPLE.

This temple, situated in the Tartar city, is in a well-preserved condition, although it shows signs of age. Some of the monks or "Llamas" were in attendance. They dress in picturesque costumes and are presumed to lead the lives of hermits, spending their time in meditation and worship.

One evening we were given a regular Chinese dinner, with bird's-nest soup, shark's fins, and all the Chinese delicacies, followed by a Chinese theater party. It was very hot and we sat in a garden in the open air, the stage only being under cover and inclosed. The stage was hung with very rich and gorgeous curtains, but there was no scenery. There were at all times three or four and sometimes more attendants on the stage assisting the actors in one way and another with their costumes and properties, but they are not supposed to be seen. The most vigorous and exciting military struggles may be in progress, accompanied by the full strength of the orchestra in producing piercing and blood-curdling sounds, and the attendants go about in the most matter-of-fact way in the performance of their duties. All this is quite surprising to an occidental theatergoer. The play that we saw was historical, and the principal actor, Mei San Fang, a man who took a woman's part, was said to be the most popular and high-priced artist in China. He took the woman's part admirably. The villain was a most ferocious villain, and everyone could tell at once that he was a villain all right, as his face was painted black. Thus no room is left for doubt as to the villain's real character. Similarly, the good man in the play is painted white, and there you are.

The hosts at this Chinese dinner and theater party were very influential Chinese gentlemen, and included Dr. W. W. Yen, Mr. Chow Tsu-chi, Admiral Tsai Ting-Kan, Dr. Wang Chung-hui, and Admiral Hsu Chen-ping.

THE SUMMER PALACE.

On Wednesday, August 18, our party visited the beautiful summer palace, erected under such unfortunate conditions by the late Empress Dowager. This summer palace, the extensive grounds of which embrace a beautiful lake 2 or 3 miles long and a mile wide, was destroyed by the British under Lord Elgin in 1860, to punish the Chinese for imprisoning Sir Henry Parkes, who had gone to Peking to negotiate a peace treaty. I saw the foundations of the destroyed palace building which are not on precisely the same site as those erected by the

Dowager Empress. These are on the side of a range of hills overlooking the lake, and in a much more imposing position.

The summer palace is 11 or 12 miles outside Peking, in a northwest direction, reached by a good macadamized road, suitable for automobiles. We passed through several large villages or small towns, with the usual swarming activity of small, open-front shops, and the streets filled with transportation traffic, for the most part handled by man power, either borne on men's shoulders, suspended from bamboo poles, or on high wheelbarrows or two-wheeled carts. We passed the foundations of the old summer palace, acres in extent, which were all that were left by Lord Elgin in his work of destruction, which are situated on the plain before reaching the present summer palace, or palaces, on the hills, for there are a large number of beautiful buildings. We entered the palace grounds, which were never opened to the public until 1914, through a large and beautiful "pailou," or gate, with three arches and a marvelously carved and colored structure above the panels. There is a roof, or more properly there are several roofs, on the ridges of which are a number of miniature images of wild animals, lions, tigers, and so forth, and a large hen with the figure of a man on her back. These same figures are very frequently seen on the roofs of palaces and other public buildings in China, and I learned at the Rockefeller Foundation, where they are erecting buildings in the Chinese style and where the ridges of the buildings are ornamented with these same figures, their story and significance. It appears that many centuries ago there was a very wicked Emperor in China who delighted in oppressing his people. He was never so well pleased as when he had devised and put into execution some new method of torture or murder. His soldiers were taught to labor the people with their swords, to loot their houses, to mistreat their women, to maim and wound the children, and even to massacre the populations of whole towns and villages. This oppression finally became so bad that the people revolted and drove the wicked Emperor from his imperial city into the forest, where he lived for many years. But even that did not cure him of his wickedness and his desire to inflict pain. In the forest his only neighbors were the animals—the wolves, the tigers, and the lions—and he found ways to be cruel to them. He would through his cunning find their homes and capture their baby lions and tigers and wolves and carry them off and torture them, so that their cries would be most distressing to their parents, and finally he would kill them. This went on for some time, until the animals could bear it no longer. So they all got together and drove the wicked Emperor out of the forest, he being unfit to occupy it with them.

It is doubtful if he would have succeeded in getting out at all had he not in his flight, closely pursued by the animals, encountered a large and swift hen. He quickly got on her back and rode off, the animals keeping up their pursuit. It is to commemorate this event that the procession appears on the ridges of the roofs of the palaces in China, and I presume that it was intended to remind succeeding emperors that they must not be wicked and oppressive to their people, under penalty of being driven out of the country on the back of a hen. Whether the wicked Emperor really succeeded in getting away and saving his life through the kindly efforts of the hen I was not told. It will always be a question with me, as I would think that the lions, the tigers, and the wolves, being so swift, could catch a hen, no matter how big she was or how fast she could run. But on the roofs of China she is always well in the lead and apparently about to jump off the roof, she being close to the edge, with the wicked Emperor on her back.

But now that we have passed through the wonderful gate let us look around at the Summer Palace. First we went to a landing at the lake, where three or four houseboats were ready for our party, and were rowed or poled through acres of lotus plants with thousands of blossoms into the open lake and across to a temple directly opposite and about a mile away from the Summer Palace proper. The buildings, which are very beautiful, are situated on a fine hill, which rises quite abruptly from the lake. This is called "The Hill of Longevity," or "The Hill of Long Life." This is only one of a series of hills that extend around the lake. Temples and pagodas are frequent on these hills, usually erected in slightly places. One of these is the "Jade Fountain," where there are numerous springs of pure water. Why it is called "Jade" I do not know.

The lake itself is a fine body of water and is the center of the attractions of the Summer Palace. There is a little island out from the shore, to which a beautiful camel-back bridge is built, called "The Bridge of Seventeen Arches," its construction being of white marble.

There is also a marble ship, to which we recrossed the lake and which we visited. Many functions are given on this ship,

which has two decks but which has never floated. In fact, it is not only firmly attached to the shore, but it has a firm rock foundation in the bottom of the lake, which, by the way, is called "The Kun-Ming Lake." The palaces are roofed with yellow and green tiles. The emerald green of the hills and valleys, the beauty of the lake, the artistic and unique architecture of the palaces, the marble boat, and the bridges all combine to make the Summer Palace one of the beauty places of the earth. The Dowager Empress evolved a marvelous combination of nature and art, at a vast expenditure of national funds—said to be not less than \$50,000,000 or \$60,000,000—but in doing so she betrayed her country into the hands of its enemies. This vast sum of money was placed at her disposal for the purpose of building up the navy of China and to make it equal to modern requirements. Instead she used it to build the Summer Palace. In a short time war broke out between China and Japan—China without a navy, Japan with a very good one. The result was not long in doubt, and China lost a great war, partly, if not altogether, because of the pride and folly of a foolish woman.

TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS' WORK.

On our return from the Summer Palace we visited the Tsing Hua College, which has 700 or 800 Chinese students, who are preparing to become teachers or professional or business men. The college grounds and some of the buildings were once the palace of a Chinese prince. It was vacation time, but several of the students were there, and they were a bright lot of young men and women.

I met there Dr. Chauncey Goodrich, who has lived in China over 50 years as a missionary, teacher, and translator. Dr. Goodrich, with assistants, made a complete translation of the Bible—Old and New Testament—from English into Chinese. The work, which was completed two years ago, took 27 years. The result is now in printed form. Our party had a delightful visit with Dr. Goodrich, who is a mild, modest, scholarly man, a native of Boston, whence he came to China when a young man. We also met his good wife, who has been his constant companion in his great work.

THE TRAGEDY OF OUR JOURNEY.

A feeling of great depression rested on the congressional party all this day. In the morning we were shocked beyond measure to learn that Ida May Vane, one of the daughters of Congressman Vane, of Pennsylvania, who with her sister Beatrice had been ill with tonsillitis since our arrival in Peking, had passed away at 4 in the morning. Both girls had had a severe fever, which had been very persistent, and Mr. Vane was greatly worried, and had had the best physicians in Peking in consultation. We did not look for a fatal ending, however. We had solemn funeral services in the American Legation at 6 in the afternoon, the casket being covered with floral pieces.

OPIMUM IN CHINA.

This evening our congressional party received a delegation of the International Anti-Opium Society at our hotel—the Grand Hotel de Peking. It appears that while it was supposed a few years ago that opium traffic in China had been stamped out, it has been renewed through dealers from Japan, and that it is again getting a strong foothold throughout the country. The situation was intelligently presented by British and American gentleman and Admiral Wu of the Chinese Navy.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION SCHOOL.

On the morning of Thursday, August 19, we visited the Rockefeller Foundation Medical School, many of the buildings of which are in course of construction. Chinese architecture is being used with wonderful effect. The tiling of the roofs is green instead of the yellow which is the attractive and distinguishing color of all imperial buildings. The green roofs, so extensive in number and area, can be seen from all high points. The school will doubtless be the best medical school in China, and can not fail to do much good in studying and combating the peculiar diseases of the Orient. Dr. H. S. Hamilton, a capable American, is in charge. Seven million dollars is being expended on the site and buildings.

THE FORBIDDEN CITY.

From the foundation we were taken to the Forbidden City, from which until recent years all common people were excluded. The high wall is still around the Forbidden City, and it can be entered only at the gates, where soldiers are stationed. The tiled roofs of all the buildings are of the imperial yellow. There are literally hundreds of fine buildings in this great inclosure, with marble walks from one to another. We visited the throne room, probably the most magnificent of all. In this throne room it was the custom of the Emperor to receive in audience ambassadors from foreign countries and other very distinguished visitors. It is a wonderful room, magnificent and

symmetrical in proportions and brilliant and harmonious in coloring. The roof is supported by great numbers of pillars, 40 or 50 feet in height, all colored a deep red. The throne itself is intact, much gold and blue appearing in the colors. All through the Forbidden City are great numbers of miniature landscape gardens.

One of the great sights in the Forbidden City is the National Museum, and our congressional party was specially favored by being permitted to visit it. The exhibits are in three buildings and consist of collections of Chinese antiques made through many generations by the Emperors of the Manchu dynasty. They are closely guarded because of their great value, which is estimated at not less than \$30,000,000. The collection consists of the finest and rarest specimens of porcelain, cloisonné, jade, bronze, and other valuable antiques, including the property of former Emperors of China brought to Peking from the palaces at Mukden and Jehol. Our visit of a couple of hours was much too brief.

The Chamber of Commerce of Peking was our host at a luncheon given at a palace known as the Chun Hsin Tsin. I was designated to respond to the address of welcome, which was made by the president of the Peking chamber in Chinese and translated. My response also was translated into Chinese. I made the subject of commerce between the two nations my theme.

While at the throne room the palace now occupied by the boy Emperor was pointed out to us, only a few feet away. The lad is now 13 years of age and is being educated by excellent tutors. The Chinese are a curious people—a Republic which carefully brings up and educates one who may in the future get into power and punish its leaders. He lives isolated and must be a lonely little chap.

This evening the legislators only were invited to dinner by the American minister, Mr. C. R. Crane, at the legation. He gave us much information on current events in China, which of late have been very exciting. We were much interested in the narrative of the military attaché of the legation, who had just returned from the rescue of an American missionary from a noted bandit chief in a western Province of China.

Friday, August 20, was our last full day in Peking, and our good Chinese hosts had thoughtfully left it free from engagements. Thus we could devote the day to whatever each individual might desire. Some went shopping, purchasing souvenirs for the folks at home; some devoted the day to farewell calls on the American officials and other friends in Peking.

DEPARTURE FROM PEKING.

On Saturday morning, August 21, all were up early about the Grand Hotel. It was the first cool morning that we had experienced since leaving San Francisco.

We were soon at the Chienmen Station, which is near the great gate to the city of the same name. Many of our Chinese hosts were assembled there to see us off. An excellent special train was ready, the same that we had used since leaving Nanking. The good-byes were soon said, and we were rolling out of one of the most interesting cities of the world. Here history goes back so far that they refer to centuries as we at home refer to decades. With us the time of Christ, less than 2,000 years ago, seems very remote. In China the records for 4,000 or 5,000 years are quite definite and authentic, and it is not uncommon to see in temples, palaces, and museums pictures and objects that date back several hundred years before the Christian era. To an American it gives a sense of world age never before fully realized.

It is about four hours' travel between Peking and Tientsin, through a rich agricultural country. This year there has been a lack of rain, and the crops are very short. Only three or four weeks ago there was much fighting in this territory between the Anfu faction, then in control of the Peking government, and their opponents, headed by Gen. Chang Tso Lin, military governor of the Province of Chihli. This general has had wonderful success. It is said that but a few years ago he was a bandit, with but 15 followers. He now has a large army, variously estimated at from 200,000 to 500,000 men, and has developed not only a capacity for leadership but a sense of justice and good sense quite remarkable in a man of such cloudy beginnings. He is now regarded as the chief military hope of China. Curiously enough, he is a man of frail physique and in poor health. His recent return to Mukden after his successful campaign against the Anfuites was celebrated in that ancient capital with a procession and reception as grand as those formerly given to emperors.

ELEVEN BUSY HOURS IN TIENSIN.

We arrived at Tientsin a little before noon. The governor and officials of the provincial government, and Col. Morrow, commander of the Fifteenth United States Infantry, stationed

here, met us at one station and escorted us to the East Station. We were taken to the American-British-Chinese Club, in a fine building formerly occupied by a wealthy German club, and entertained at luncheon by the American Chamber of Commerce of Tientsin. In every large city in the Orient we found American merchants and business men highly respected and a splendid body of men, pioneers in American commerce, devoted to and enthusiastic for their own country, and doing it credit in every way. At Tientsin this was particularly noticeable. Tientsin is a great commercial and manufacturing city, and one of the seaport gates to China. It has a population of a million and a half and is noticeably cosmopolitan, due to the presence of garrisons of troops of several nationalities. This arrangement was made with China after the Boxer troubles of 1900, when the foreign legations at Peking were attacked by the Boxers and the German ambassador killed and the Japanese ambassador wounded. Tientsin is so close to Peking that troops stationed there would be immediately available in the event of future Boxer or other troubles endangering the foreign legations. So land was set aside at Tientsin for American, British, French, and German troops, and I think Italian also. We have the Fifteenth Infantry there. So Tientsin has military officers of all these nationalities present at all times—except the Germans, of course. Their embassies and clubhouses are vacant all over the Orient, where they were very strong up to 1914. They have paid dearly all over the world for their wicked folly and ambition for world conquest.

At 4 p. m. we had a reception and tea with the A B C Club, the officials of the provincial assembly and government, and other Chinese local organizations.

At 6.30 we were taken to the palace of one of the most distinguished citizens of China and a former President of the Chinese Republic, Mr. Li Yuan Hung. We spent an hour and a half about the extensive houses and grounds, were received by the former President and his wife and children, one a fine appearing young man, the others nice, modest girls. Mr. Li (pronounced Lee) is very highly regarded and impressed our people most favorably. It is said that he is likely to be called to the presidency again. He is very wealthy, engaged in coal mining.

From ex-President Li's home we were taken to a large café called the Empire, where we were his guests at dinner. It was a very elaborate affair. Mr. Li made a speech in Chinese, which was translated. It was full of good sense and good feeling toward America. Mr. SMALL responded. We finished just in time to get our train, which left at 11 p. m. During the afternoon we had an extensive drive about the city with Col. Morrow, who showed us the residences of his officers outside the city in undesirable houses difficult to rent, and thus available for the officers, as their pay is not sufficient to permit them to live in good houses in the city.

A SUNDAY AT THE SEASHORE.

On Sunday morning, August 22, our train drew into the station at Peitaiho (pronounced Petey-ho). From the train windows we could see the waters of the grand old Pacific Ocean, which we had missed for some time, or, rather, the Gulf of Chihli, which opens on the Pacific. Peitaiho is nearly opposite Fort Arthur, about 100 miles east. It is a really beautiful seaside resort where many wealthy people of Peking and Tientsin have their summer homes. At the train to meet and welcome us were as usual the company of soldiers at attention, the provincial officials, the chief magistrate, a number of American residents, and about 100 little boys in khaki from various schools in the neighborhood, all about 12 years old. I was asked to give the boys a talk, which I did. They were in line like a company of soldiers. I told them that we had come from a country far across the sea, where we had many school children like them. That we were greatly pleased that they had taken the trouble to get up early in the morning and come down to the railway station to make the Americans welcome. That we hoped they would give earnest attention to their studies in school, so that they should learn to become good and useful men. That in a few years they and other children like them throughout China would be called to the duties and responsibilities of the men of to-day, and I hoped that they would be so well educated both in books and in morals and religion that they would assist in making their great country even better and stronger than it is to-day. My talk was translated to them, and they seemed to understand it, partially at least. Their teachers, all Chinese, thanked me.

We were taken in a long procession in jinrikishas up a bluff to the residence of an American dentist, Dr. Nye, from Boston, who has lived out there a great many years. Here, overlooking the beach and the sea, we made our headquarters for the day. Most of the people went bathing. There is some surf with rafts for swimmers a little way out.

About 4 o'clock we attended a meeting of teachers and missionaries from all over China—mostly Chinese—in a temple open on all sides. There were several hundred present. They had a choir that sang familiar hymns in Chinese, very sweetly, too. It was impressive to see how intensely expectant they were of something wonderful coming out of America to save their country from the dangers that threaten it. This feeling was manifest all over China. Representative HARDY of Texas made them an excellent and eloquent address.

Later, at 6 p. m., again in jinrikishas, we were taken a couple of miles to the estate of a Chinese gentleman of wealth, formerly a Minister of the Interior, Chu Chi Chuen. It is on a high table-land, overlooking and sloping toward the ocean, and Mr. Chu has laid it out most artistically, like a park, with many winding roads. There are several hundred acres in the estate. Mr. Chu, before the light supper in the open air which he had provided, made an address of welcome, and I was called on to respond. I said that I had learned that he, while Minister of the Interior, had taken great interest in the extension of good roads in China. That I had observed that while China was well provided with canals and waterways it was lacking in good roads.

That I hesitated to make a suggestion as to the administration of a country which had endured for more than 4,000 years. But if I were to do so it would be that the construction of good roads and railways were most desirable. My own country had been very active in building good roads during the past 10 or 15 years, and with most excellent results. It enabled the farmer to get his products into the city markets at greatly reduced cost, and at once not only increased the net remuneration to the farmer, but at even a lower price for the product, and reduced the cost to the consumer. That I had been informed that in former times nonaction in road building had been a policy of the Government, on the theory that good roads would facilitate the entrance into the country of foreign armies. While this might be true, on the other side good roads made it possible for armies of defense to rapidly approach the frontiers of the nation, there to meet the enemy before the invaders should have penetrated the country. If this were true, I thought the policy of His Excellency to build as many good roads as possible was the more desirable and statesmanlike one.

A DAY IN MUKDEN, MANCHURIA.

Leaving Peitaiho in the evening we soon passed Shanhaikuan on the shores of the Gulf of Chihli, which is the point which marks the beginning or eastern end of the great wall. The wall commences at the water's edge and thence winds its way westward and southward 2,000 miles. It being night, we could only see the bright electric lights of the town.

In the morning we found our train passing northerly over the plains of Manchuria, which are not so thickly populated or so intensively cultivated as the lands of China proper. Still there are nearly 20,000,000 people in the Province, or an average of 51 people to the square mile, while the United States has but 35. The people are of larger stature than are those of the Provinces south, and they appear to have more horses and cattle to assist them in cultivating the soil. They use the same big two-wheeled carts, many wooden plows, and other heavy and antiquated agricultural implements. The soil seems rich and looks much like that of Kansas and Nebraska, and is well watered. In fact, it has some of the finest agricultural land in the world. They raise wheat, millet, sorghum and maize, tobacco, sugar beets, and fruits. Their largest crop, however, has given our farmers in America some trouble of late years, and that is beans. They raise enormous quantities of them, and I saw great stocks of beans in bags at warehouses at the railway stations and being conveyed thereto. Manchuria can raise beans enough to supply the world, and we will certainly have to raise the tariff bars a little if our American farmers are to continue to raise beans and sell them in the American markets.

Before reaching Mukden at 10 o'clock we passed through a part of the battle field of the great Battle of Mukden, fought between the Russian and the Japanese armies, under Gens. Kuropatkin and Oyama, respectively, a little more than 15 years ago. We came in from the south, and the battle, which was fought over a front of nearly 50 miles, swung north of the city, where it was terminated in favor of the Japanese. This was the last and the decisive battle of the Russo-Japanese War. The armies numbered over 300,000 on each side, or over 600,000 in all, of whom 10,000 were killed on the Russian side and 8,000 on that of the Japanese. This was in the Battle of Mukden alone; but in the campaign about Mukden, lasting three weeks, the Russians lost 97,000 men and the Japanese about half that number.

We pulled into the Mukden railway station at 10 a. m. There are large and convenient station buildings and platforms and a good hotel, all of brick. The railway platform marks the dividing line between Chinese and Japanese jurisdiction, and all we had to do was to walk across the platform to be in Japanese territory. We had been traveling on Chinese Government railways to this point, and on the opposite side of the platform stood the special train of the South Manchurian Railway Co., a Japanese Government railway, for the occupancy of the congressional party, and our luggage was soon transferred to the waiting train and from the jurisdiction of one Government to that of another.

Speaking of railways, this South Manchurian Railway, on which we traveled to the southern extremity of Manchuria and then passing through the entire length of Korea from Antung, at the north, to Fusan, at the south, was the best-built and best-equipped railway that I saw in the Orient. I can say for the Chinese railways, over which we traveled for about 2,500 miles, that they have excellent and substantial roadbeds, ballasted with crushed rock, over which the trains run very smoothly. One feature was especially noticeable. The trains are started without the sudden jerk and yank that so frequently shock us on American railways. Some of our American railway engineers could take a profitable lesson from those of China and Japan in that respect. I do not remember to have experienced a spine-dislocating train jerk either in China or Japan.

The equipment of the Chinese railways is not quite so good as that of the South Manchuria. The train on which we rode would compare favorably for comfort and elegance with any on the best railways in America.

Although we at once transferred our luggage to the apartments that had been assigned us on the Japanese side of the platform, our Chinese hosts, some of whom had been with us from the time of our arrival at Shanghai, three weeks previously, did not release us until 4 in the afternoon. The Japanese welcoming committee, officers of the Imperial Diet of Japan, which corresponds to our Congress, scrupulously refrained from mixing in with the Chinese plans. Local Chinese officials welcomed the party to Mukden, which appears to be a city of from 100,000 to 200,000. I was pleased to find that their plans would take us out to the Imperial Manchu Tombs, a few miles out of the city. Having seen the magnificent Ming Tombs at Nanking, I desired to see these.

The city, like most Chinese cities, is surrounded by a high brick wall, about 30 feet high, 16 feet wide at the top, and 26 feet thick at the base. It is 4 miles in circumference and has eight towered gateways. We took a ride about the city in automobiles, and visited the Manchu Palace buildings, which are surrounded by an inside wall. Here the Manchu throne room is still intact, though the buildings generally are in bad repair. Mukden was established in 1260, and was the Manchu capital before they captured China. In 1628 they made it the capital of China, which it remained for 19 years, when the capital was transferred to Peking.

We were taken outside the city walls 4 miles north to the Peiling Tombs. The road in some places was pretty bad, although repairs had been made on it for our special benefit. Every 100 feet or so a Chinese soldier was on duty and would salute as we passed. This road, we were told, was a favorite place with bandits for their operations, and we were shown one clump of trees, as the road emerged from under a railway bridge, where bandits frequently "stood up" travelers. One young Chinese in my machine told me that some years, like this year, the crops were very small, and the people likely to starve. After stating the distressing situation, he turned and appealed to me, "What else can they do but be bandits?"

A magnificent gate opened the way through the wall of the inclosure to the Manchu Tombs. That meant that further locomotion must be on foot. It was a hot day, but the inclosure has many large trees several hundred years old, and the shade was very grateful. Right in the middle of the inclosure, which probably is from a half to three-quarters of a mile square, or perhaps the length might be a mile, the Chinese had constructed a great square tent of matting, within which they had set long tables on which they served a luncheon.

Right in front of this tent was a wide paved avenue more than 100 feet, leading to the entrance to the tomb, on each side of which were replicas of the great stone animals, such as I have heretofore described at the Ming Imperial Tombs at Nanking. There were the elephants, the horses with their big legs, the lion dogs, the camels, and all. They are not, however, so large as those at Nanking, nor so many of them.

There are many beautiful and picturesque buildings inside the inclosure besides the mausoleum itself.

After luncheon we walked about the grounds, and in due time we returned to the city and bade good-by to our Chinese friends, who had been our faithful and devoted guides for so long. Particularly did we regret to part with Dr. Wang Chung-hui, of the Chinese foreign office. At 4 o'clock he and the others left on our special train for the return trip to Peking, and we were received by the Japanese welcoming committee, which at this point included the secretaries of the House of Peers and the House of Representatives of the Imperial Diet, and other Japanese officials.

Thus ended the most interesting visit to and tour of the Republic of China of the congressional party. It extended from August 5, the date of our arrival at Shanghai, to August 23, when at 9 p. m. we left Mukden—19 eventful days. We traveled about 2,500 miles by rail in the interior of the country, the farthest point south being Hangchow, at about the latitude of New Orleans, the farthest point north being Mukden, about the latitude of New York. The farthest point west reached was Nankou, at the great wall, about 50 miles west of Peking.

We were everywhere treated with the utmost consideration by all classes of people. America seemed to be known everywhere, by the poor as well as by those better situated, and that their opinion of our country was most exalted was universally manifest. That America would in some mysterious way right all the wrongs of the world, and particularly those of China, to which the great Republic had always been a friend, was evidently the thought of educated as well as uneducated Chinese. The tenacity of this belief was most pathetic. As the congressional party were the only Americans in sight, we stood with them for the moment as the representatives of a most beneficent and powerful Nation, their friend, and we received many attentions that we would gladly have foregone if we could without wounding their feelings. We were careful on many occasions to disavow any official character to our visit and any significance beyond our personal desire to see their country and to observe its industry and its institutions. That made no difference in the disposition of their hospitality, and they filled every hour with plans for gratifying our desire for information, or with carefully worked out programs of unique entertainment. To say that they were successful up to the limit of our physical strength would be a most conservative statement.

The Chinese are a truly wonderful people, with many national virtues; that is, virtues that characterize them as a people. I shall not attempt an analysis of the Chinese character here, as this is a simple record of personal observations. I will only say that I left China with regret and with a higher opinion of the country and its people than I entertained prior to this visit.

THE TRIP THROUGH SOUTH MANCHURIA AND KOREA.

After bidding good-by to our good Chinese hosts at Mukden the congressional party at once became the guests of officials of the other great power of the Orient—a power which is regarded with considerable distrust if not apprehension by our late hosts of China. A heavy rain set in shortly after the return from the Manchu Tombs. Our Japanese hosts extended a formal welcome at an elaborate banquet at the Yamato Hotel at Mukden.

At 11 p. m. of August 23 we rolled out of the great Mukden station, headed southerly for our trip through South Manchuria and Korea. If you look at your map you will see that Korea lies directly south of Manchuria, and that it is a considerable distance—several hundred miles—from Mukden to Fusan, at the lower or southern end of the Korean Peninsula.

It rained nearly all night, and in the morning we were rolling along through beautiful green hills and valleys, highly cultivated. About 8 o'clock we reached a broad river, which we crossed on a long steel bridge, which I recognized as one that I had often seen pictures of during the Russo-Japanese War, as the bridge across the Yalu River. It was near this point that the great Battle of the Yalu was fought, which also was a victory for the Japanese. The city of Antung, the point of crossing on the Manchurian side, is a large and flourishing city. After crossing the river we were in Korea, that unfortunate country which is the scene of much agitation upon the part of Korean patriots, and of severe repressive measures upon the part of the Japanese military authorities, who have charge of the country. The visit of the American congressional party seems to have been adopted by the Korean patriots as one which might be taken advantage of for making representation to the American Congressmen to show the injustice of the occupation of their country by the Japanese and the severity and injustices of Japanese rule.

Each Congressman received printed communications on the subject long before reaching Korea. In fact, the first com-

munications came at Honolulu, while others were presented at Manila. At Shanghai, where is located the provisional government of Korea, with a president and cabinet ministry, we received many communications of this character. At Peking a request was presented for a formal appearance of representatives of Korea before the party. As we were in no respect an official body, and had no right directly or indirectly to represent the American Congress, we thought it improper to receive them as a body and formally. But we informed them that as individuals we would be glad to have them call upon us. I did receive an hour's visit from a member of the ministry of the provisional government, and his secretary, both able men, and the latter speaking excellent English and acting as interpreter. They explained the entire situation to me from the Korean standpoint. Their wrongs are real and of a most desperate character. But I confess that I am unable to see how they can be remedied. Japan has taken Korea as a part of the Japanese Empire, and it is now as fixedly a part of it as California, Arizona, and New Mexico are a part of the United States. Many of the Koreans are pretty desperate, however, and when I pointed out the hopelessness of the situation to my Korean visitors they said, "Yes; we know of nothing that can be done, except to protest. We can not do otherwise. We will protest until we are all killed."

While our party was in Peking reports were published in the newspapers that cholera was raging in Korea, and was particularly bad at Seoul. Other reports were to the effect that Korean agitators were threatening to do something desperate while the congressional party was in Korea to make trouble between the Japanese and American Governments. It was even intimated that they might try to bomb the party or the train. Some of the Chinese papers commented on these reports to the effect that the Japanese authorities did not desire the congressional party to pass through Korea and were spreading these reports to scare us off. Whatever may have been the facts, the reports made no impression whatever on the party. We knew that there was some cholera, as there is nearly everywhere in the Orient. But we felt sure that the Koreans would not do us the slightest harm. In fact, we knew that, like the Chinese, they regard the United States as their only possible hope. We thought so little of these reports that we never even had a meeting on the subject.

Undoubtedly the Japanese authorities were very desirous that nothing should happen to us in Korea, but whether they really believed that Koreans might do us harm for the purpose of making trouble for the Japanese Government I have not fully determined. At all events, they took a good deal of pains to make sure that we should see as few Koreans as possible. None were permitted to come near the railway stations, and soldiers were in evidence on every hand. Evidently general military orders were out that they should not come within a certain distance of the stations. Thus at every station there were crowds standing to see the train pass, but at a distance of 400 or 500 feet away; sometimes more. Often these crowds would shout and cheer, but evidently they were in approval and not disapproval of our party and our country. At one place a body of several hundred students, with banners on high poles, had regular yell leaders and cheered for a long time while the train stood at the station and until we had proceeded beyond sight and hearing.

Korea is a country of great beauty of landscape, and in many ways reminds one of California. There are not the broad valleys, like the San Joaquin and the Sacramento, the valleys being smaller; more like the Santa Clara valleys—north and south—hills and all being green and fertile. Then there are the higher mountain ranges in the distance, not so high and imposing as the Sierras, but more like the Coast Range. The people wear curious headdresses of plaited straw, black, round, and tall, but not quite so tall as a gentleman's high silk hat. The elderly men and people of consequence are more given to wearing these headdresses, and also long gownlike coats, generally white, that come down below the knees. They give the impression of men of great gravity on dress parade in their nightgowns. The women also dress their hair very high and with peculiar head-dress. These headdresses all have some significance, but I did not learn just what it was. They have the appearance of excellent people, and those that we met were generally bright, intellectually; but in Korea, for the reasons that I have stated, we did not meet many. We traveled all day—Tuesday, August 24—through this beautiful country, for which nature has done so much, stopping frequently at well-built stations, at which uniformed soldiers or police were in attendance, with the constant spectacle of crowds of Korean people—men, women, and children—standing off at a distance and looking wistfully at the train. While they occasionally shouted and cheered, more generally they stood in silence, and we could only guess what may

have been in their thoughts. But it seemed to me a silent and impressive protest to the foreign occupation of their country, more expressive than words. I doubt if our party would have been so deeply impressed if the Koreans had been permitted to throng the stations and besiege us with verbal and written petitions and protests.

It was after dark when we reached the first station in Seoul—pronounced Soul or Sole—or Keijo, as it is called by the Japanese. Our train was held in this station about half an hour. Then we went on to the main station, where we were received by representatives of the Japanese local authorities. We noticed a good many soldiers about the station and along the streets on our way to the hotel, but everything was as quiet as Sunday at home. The stores were all closed, and there were no crowds on the street.

We afterwards learned that there had been a great deal of excitement among the Koreans about the coming of the congressional party for two or three days; that the Korean shopkeepers had agreed with each other to close their shops while we were in the city—the Koreans said in honor of our coming—the Japanese said in protest against our coming. Several thousand Koreans had assembled about the main station hours before the arrival of our train, but shortly before its arrival the Japanese military forces had compelled them to leave the neighborhood of the station, and all the streets through which the party would pass while en route to the Chosen Hotel, and that we were held at the first station until this order should be carried out. This accounted for the Sabbathlike calm encountered and the absence of anyone on the streets excepting the soldiers, who fairly swarmed along the line.

We found the Chosen Hotel an excellent hostelry, one of the best in the Orient, owned by the South Manchurian Railway Co., or, going further back, by the Japanese Government. It is but fair to say that whatever the Japanese Government undertakes, it does well. There is no doubt that it has instituted great improvements in Korea, well calculated to benefit living conditions. These include better streets and highways in both city and country; far better sanitary conditions, better mail facilities, and better railways. Admiral Saito, the governor general, is admittedly a mild, humane man. The Japanese wonder why the Koreans are not satisfied and call all protestants malcontents and agitators, and they feel justified in treating all so designated with marked severity. These very excellent improvements, however, are made from Korean money, received from taxes upon the Koreans and their industries. Doubtless the Koreans feel that however imperfect may have been their methods of government and administration, it was their own, and they would prefer to correct their own errors or let them go uncorrected than to have it done by a foreign power. The Koreans have a very ancient history and civilization that dates back to 12 centuries before Christ—over 3,000 years. The Hermit Kingdom, as it is called, has had many vicissitudes, the first 1,100 years recognizing a suzerainty to China, then becoming a nation upon its own account. They had many wars from the outside, but always succeeded in maintaining their identity as a nation. The geographical position of Korea is a strategic one, particularly to Japan, and the respective rights of China and Japan was the cause of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. Japan won, but Russia and Germany prevented Japan from reaping what she considered the fruits of her victory, and this led to the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Japan, being successful, established a protectorate over Korea, ostensibly in order to protect herself from future aggressions upon the part of Russia. Finally, a few years later, Japan abandoned the protectorate, and by a rescript of the Emperor formally annexed Korea to the Empire. The Koreans as a whole have resented the annexation, and in a serious demonstration at Seoul in 1919 in favor of national independence the Japanese military authorities repressed the uprising by force, and many Koreans were killed. These events have left a very sore feeling in Korea, and I am sure that they give the Japanese much anxiety. This is the situation under which the American congressional party found themselves in Seoul, the capital of the country.

On Wednesday morning, August 25, we enjoyed an auto ride about this most interesting city. The Japanese have really done wonders in the way of public works in Seoul and have made good, wide, and clean streets. Mountain ranges 40 or 50 miles from the city look much like the Sierra Madres from Los Angeles. We visited the former imperial gardens, now a public park, and took tea in an ornate building overlooking a lotus pond and the park, which were very picturesque and attractive, with many outspreading, grand old trees.

We then went to the palace and throne room of the late kings of Korea. While, of course, it is no longer in use, the Japanese have kept it up in all its former magnificence. The throne

room is a large one, where royalty was accustomed to receive distinguished people in audience. I would think it 125 feet wide, 250 feet or more long, and 40 feet high. The sculpturing and coloring are very beautiful, gold, pinks, and grays being most noticeable. There are 18 great pillars to the roof of dark ox-blood red. I noted many very large and beautiful screens. Prince Li (Lee) lives at this palace.

At 1 o'clock we were given a reception and tiffin at the hotel by the International Friendly Society of Seoul, which consisted of Japanese, European, and American ladies and gentlemen. At luncheon it was announced that we would receive calls from Japanese and Koreans in the hotel parlor, but no Koreans appeared, or not more than two or three.

Mr. RANDALL of California. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OSBORNE. I will.

Mr. RANDALL of California. There has been some publication in this country of a statement relating to an experience Mr. HERSMAN had in Seoul. Will the gentleman give us some account of that?

Mr. OSBORNE. Yes; but no doubt Mr. HERSMAN could tell it better than I. The Koreans had arranged a reception for the party.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has again expired.

Mr. ANDREWS of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California 10 minutes more.

Mr. OSBORNE. At 5 o'clock we had a reception and tea as guests of Baron Admiral Saito, governor general of Korea, at the official residence. The admiral is a very benevolent-looking gentleman, rather stout, of about 60. He speaks good English, and I had a talk with him. He had been to Washington many years ago. I later heard of the Hersman episode, and again went to him and told him that I had been told that he had one of our colleagues in jail and that I hoped that he would have him released as soon as possible, as he was not at all dangerous. He laughed, but made no reply, and I am not sure that he then knew the facts. My own information at that time was incorrect, as Mr. HERSMAN was not really in jail and perhaps not in actual or even constructive arrest.

The Hersman episode made quite a stir at Seoul and throughout Japan. It came about in this way: The Koreans had planned a reception to the congressional party, to take place at the Y. M. C. A. auditorium at 3.30 p. m. of the day we were in Seoul (August 25). On this morning, I am informed, the Japanese authorities consented to this reception and stated that they had no objection to it whatever. Later in the forenoon, however, the Japanese recalled their consent and ordered that the reception be not given. Mr. SMALL, our chairman, announced that the Koreans would call on us at the hotel instead. I received a copy of the program of proposed exercises, which seem to have been innocent enough.

The program reads as follows:

PROGRAM.

"America".....	The Seoul Band.
Introductory remarks.....	The chairman.
Address, Welcome.....	Hon. Yi Sang Chai.
Presentation of souvenir.....	The guests.
Response.....	The Seoul Band.
"Auld Lang Syne".....	

This was all, and it seems scarcely grave enough to constitute an international episode. To this was attached about 140 names, under the heading "Reception committee." The first 10 names will give an idea of the entire list. They are as follows:

Ahn, Kook Sun, director Korean Economic Association.
Byen, Yung Chin, secretary Korean Labor Mutual Aid Association.
Byen, Yungman, lawyer.
Ahal, Ki Doo, secretary People's Society.
Chang, Choon Chai, director Korean Trading Co.
Chang, Do Bin, editor Seoul Magazine.
Chang, Duk Choon, editor Dong-a Daily.
Chang, Duk, lawyer.
Chang Duk Soo, editor in chief Dong-a Daily.
Chang, Tait Sang, capitalist.

Going through the list, this seems to be a fair sample of the occupations of the signers. There were teachers, preachers, physicians, business men, farmers, and other respectable occupations represented.

Notwithstanding the reception had been called off, many Koreans did not receive the notice, and the Y. M. C. A. auditorium was well filled when the hour arrived.

My colleague, Hon. HUGH S. HERSMAN, of California, although he was aware that the reception had been called off, thought he would drop into the Y. M. C. A. and see how the Koreans looked. Accordingly he rode down the street and walked into the hall. He was cordially received and was asked to make a little talk. This he did. He said that we had been in China and he had been glad to meet the people there. He was now in Korea, and was glad to see the people and look

into their eyes. We were going to Japan, and he would be glad to see the people there also. His friendly greetings and best wishes went to the people of Korea. This was the substance of his talk, which was received with applause. When he sat down an elderly Korean made a response, whereupon the audience applauded vigorously. Thereupon a body of Japanese soldiers, or police officers, rushed into the room, placed everybody under arrest, and began to beat up the Koreans. Against this Mr. HERSMAN protested, but without avail. Several Koreans were badly beaten up. Then the officers wished to remove him from the room, but he refused to go unless all the Koreans were released. At first the officers would not do this, and he remained for more than an hour, when the Japanese released the Koreans, and Mr. HERSMAN came away with Mr. Miller, the American consul general at Seoul, and Congressman PORTER, who had just come in.

Mr. HERSMAN undoubtedly thought it was all right to drop into a Y. M. C. A. headquarters anywhere. Whether it was wise for him to go there in the circumstances is a subject for individual opinion; but that he did the courageous and manly thing, like a regular American, after he got into the row, is certain.

At 8 p. m. we took our departure for the south. The Hersman episode appeared to have doubled the show of officers and soldiers on the streets as we rode to the station, but we saw few if any Koreans. Although we spent but three days in Korea, it was sufficiently interesting and strenuous to mark it on our memories for a long time.

CROSSING THE TSUSHIMA STRAITS.

The following morning at 7 o'clock, Thursday, August 26, we reached Fusan, a city of about 65,000 population, at the southeastern extremity of Korea, in a rather sharp rainstorm. The mayor of the city and other officials met us, and were very kind and polite. Fusan is the southern gateway for the commerce of Korea, and is quite a busy city. The railway station would do credit to any city of similar size. It is close to the docks, of which there are two long ones besides many other accommodations for smaller vessels. The entrance to the harbor looks much like the Golden Gate at San Francisco.

We were soon transferred to the Japanese steamship *Shiragi Maru*, of about 3,500 tons burden, and quickly started out into the harbor to cross the Tsushima Straits, 112 miles wide, to Japan proper. The bay is lined with beautiful green-covered hills, almost mountains. There are two or three small islands just outside the entrance. About 30 or 40 miles out was a large island, reminding me much of Santa Catalina, but far greener in color.

It was in the waters of the Tsushima Straits that the great naval battle was fought between Admiral Togo and the Russian Admiral Rojentsvenski, in which the fleet of the latter was completely destroyed.

AT SHIMONOSEKI AND ON THE INLAND SEA OF JAPAN.

Late in the afternoon of Thursday, August 26, after crossing the historical Tsushima Straits, we sighted land on the Japanese side and were soon in the excellent harbor of Shimonoseki. We were met several miles out by a considerable convoy of launches gaily covered with large and small American and Japanese flags and full of Japanese and Americans belonging to the welcoming committee, who had come out to welcome our party. There was much waving of hats and handkerchiefs. I thought I discovered a familiar figure well in front of the crowd at the landing, and I asked a Japanese near me if that was not Baron Kanda. It was, and I hailed him before we landed. He had changed but little in the 11 years since I had last seen him. He and Count Terashima, of the House of Peers, and three members of the House of Representatives—Mr. Takezawa, Mr. Higushi, and Mr. Tanaka—had come down from Tokyo as a part of the welcoming committee of the Imperial Diet, equivalent to our Congress, to meet the party. All these are very cultivated gentlemen, and all speak good English. We were taken into the Oriental Hotel, which is close to the dock, and served with refreshments, in the meantime being bombarded by a battery of cameras in the hands of newspaper photographers. The Japanese photographers are very adept. They seldom ask you to pose, but just shoot away at any old time. The entire welcoming committee of the Imperial Diet was as follows:

House of Peers: Prince Yoshihisa Tokugawa, Marquis Masaaki Hachisuka, Count Seichiro Terashima, Count Nagayoshi Ogasawara, Viscount Tadashiro Inouye. Mr. Toshitake Okubo, Baron Naibu Kanda, Baron Tanetaro Megata, Baron Yoshiro Sakatani, Baron Chuzaburo Shiba, Baron Renspei Kondo, Mr. Tetsukichi Kurachi, Mr. Tsukei Sugawara, Mr. Soroku Ehara, and Mr. Eikichi Kamata.
House of Representatives: Mr. Teijiro Yamamoto, Mr. Toshiro Shimada, Mr. Gohji Matsuura, Mr. Kiroku Hayashi, Mr. Fusajiro Ichinomiya, Mr. Motokichi Takahashi, Mr. Koreshige Tsunoda, Mr.

Taichi Takezawa, Mr. Wachi Seki, Mr. Kotaro Mochizuki, Mr. Takeo Tanaka, Mr. Hideo Higuchi, Mr. Etsujiro Uyehara, Mr. Shigemasa Sunada, Mr. Minoru Matsuda, and Mr. Kosai Inouye.

Baron Kanda made a very clever speech of welcome and I made the response. I was received like an old friend, Baron Kanda having made special reference to my kindness to the commercial commissioners of Japan in 1909, when I spent more than two months with them.

The harbor and city of Shimonoseki were the scene many years ago of a historical incident well remembered in Japan of interest to Americans. It was at a time when the feeling in Japan against all foreigners, following the opening of the country by Commodore Perry, was still very strong. There were several wooden warships in the Shimonoseki Harbor—American, British, French, and possibly others. The Japanese fired upon them from the adjacent hills without, however, doing much, if any, damage, and their fire was soon suppressed. In punishment of this attack Japan was compelled to pay large indemnities in money to the various countries—several millions to each one. This was at a time when Japan was very poor and the payment was difficult. All the nations received their award, but the United States returned its portion—\$3,000,000, I think—on the ground that no actual damage had been sustained, and it was expended in bettering the port of Yokohama. This act of our Government gave America great credit for fairness in Japan, which has not altogether worn off yet.

About 9 o'clock we returned to the *Shiragi Maru*, and during the night traversed the least interesting part of the voyage through the Inland Sea of Japan.

In the morning of Friday, August 27, we were steaming through a most enchanting scene of calm waters, dotted in every direction with islands of emerald green, large and small. Some of the islands rose to heights of 500 to 1,000 feet above the water, and whenever it was possible they were terraced and cultivated to the very top. Not only were they cultivated wherever possible, but to me it seemed that they often accomplished the impossible. Rice was the principal crop, and its very vivid green outlined the cultivated acres, while the terraces looked like successive stairways on the mountain sides, often very close together. Such care to utilize every rod of available soil is noticeable all over Japan.

The Inland Sea is so full of small shipping, generally sailing craft, that it is rare that some of them are not in sight, and often a great many. They are quaint in design, but more have canvas sails than in Chinese waters, where the sails are mainly of matting. There are great numbers of fishing craft, the Japanese waters being very prolific in fish of many varieties and of excellent quality. They fish both with nets and with hook and line.

A DAY ON THE SACRED ISLAND OF MIYAJIMA.

After winding our way among these enchanting islands until about 10 o'clock, we stopped for the day at the "sacred island" of Miyajima (pronounced mee-adj-ee-mah) and the little town and summer resort of the same name, one of the most noted of the many in Japan. Many of these islands have Buddhist and Shinto temples and shrines, and the peculiar gatelike-looking structures, which are often seen in Japanese pictures, called "torii," are often seen on the beaches and along the roadways. I think that "torii" means gate, but they are not real gates in the sense that they open and shut, but they are intended to signify gates, and they have some religious significance as well.

We were transferred from our steamer to a good-sized launch and made the complete circuit of the island, about 10 miles, before landing. It was a most delightful and picturesque trip, notwithstanding much of it was made in a rainstorm. We were well covered, however, and the gentle rain added to the beauty of the scene. While we traveled close to this island we passed dozens of smaller ones, all interesting and beautiful.

A little before noon we landed at the little wharf at Miyajima and walked through the main street parallel with the beach about a mile to the very excellent hotel set in a grove of fine old trees. The street was lined with neat little shops, most of them devoted to the sale of curios, postal cards, pictures, and all sorts of things, but with a sufficient number selling foods, fruits, vegetables, rice cakes, and fish. All the fish were strange to me.

One delightful thing is noticeable all over Japan, that trees are planted, cultivated, and protected in the most careful way, and this must have been done for hundreds of years. Often a tree has stood in the line of an elaborate and costly wall, or perhaps the wall would partially take in the tree. Does the tree come down? Not at all. The wall is built around it, so as to inclose and preserve it, or is partially built around it, as the case may be. This love of trees and the works of nature

is most pleasing, and it seems to be a national trait of character. No tree is ever destroyed when it can be preserved.

In the park about the hotel were many deer, quite tame, and so accustomed to being well treated and petted that they would come right up to one to be fed rice cakes, sugar, and dainties.

One of the sacred rules governing Miyajima is that no human being shall be born or shall die on the holy island. This rule is rigidly enforced. Prospective mothers are promptly removed. Death is not so easily controlled. Very sick people are taken away; but I was confidentially told that if the grim reaper stole a march, his victim was not considered legally dead until the remains were well clear of the island.

Along the beach for a couple of miles at regular intervals of about 100 feet were stone structures of pleasing shape that excited my curiosity. They proved to be street or beach lights, but are called "stone lanterns." They are about 4 or 5 feet high and have a little reservoir inside near the top for oil. In the evening we were taken back to the ship by two transfers, first in small launches to a larger one and from the larger launch to the steamer. The town was well illuminated and the hundreds of stone lanterns along the beach were lighted in honor of the Americans. The lights in the town and on the beach, duplicated by the reflections in the water, composed a fairylike scene as we steamed away in the darkness.

IN KOBE AND KYOTO, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF JAPAN.

The Inland Sea is about 300 miles long, mainly between the two larger islands of the Japanese Empire, varies in width from 2 or 3 narrow straits to 40 or 50 miles, and laterally extends east and west, or a little northeasterly and southwesterly. The great sea is divided into several smaller seas where the waters widen out, named respectively the Seas of Suo, Iyo, Aki, Huchinada, Bingo, and Harima.

On the morning of Saturday, August 28, we were passing a succession of beautiful green islands. I recall nothing that I have ever seen that in marine scenic beauty quite equals the Inland Sea. The Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence are something like it, but the Japanese islands are more numerous, and their high cultivation and remarkable verdure give them the preference for beauty. We were in this network of fairy islands until about 2 in the afternoon, when we entered the open waters of the Sea of Harima. A couple of hours before dark we sighted many flourishing-looking towns on the main island to the north of our eastward course, and we saw many towns while we were passing through the small islands. The impression is constant of a very great population.

Kobe, which soon came into view, is one of the great seaports of Japan, and a city of about 700,000 population. It has a fine harbor and a long water front of several miles. Passing in front of the city, one sees great shipbuilding and manufacturing plants, and at the Kobe Shipbuilding Co.'s works some of our American freight ships were built under contract during the World War. The showing of shipping in the harbor from all parts of the world was great. There were large crowds to meet us, and as we were working up to the wharf I recognized Mr. T. Tamura, who was one of the Japanese commercial commissioners of 1909 and is now president of the Kobe Chamber of Commerce.

From the steamer we were taken to a hotel close by, passing through the railway station. There we were entertained and dined and photographed by the newspaper men until time for our train to leave for Kyoto, 47 miles away. At about 8 o'clock we went to the train, one running on regular schedule, on which two cars had been reserved for us. This was our first experience on a strictly Japanese railway. They differ from those of the United States in two respects. They are all of narrow gauge, and as the cars are narrow they run long seats on each side of the car, facing inward, from one end to the other, instead of seats across the car, as with us. In nearly all railway trips in Japan that we made, which I think aggregated 1,000 miles or more, we had special cars and were quite comfortable. Nearly if not all regular trains carry first and second class cars, and some third class, with the station of destination, in Japanese and English, posted on the outside.

All have side seats. I have passed through a good many of them, and when crowded they look something like emigrant cars in our own country. Men and women make themselves comfortable by taking off as many clothes as possible, including shoes and sandals and short socks made like mittens, with a separate section for the big toe. This is necessary in order that the sandal may be securely fastened to the foot, the fastening cord passing between the big toe and the four others, which all go in a group together. Some eat from little paper boxes of boiled rice and other food, which is sold by boys on the railway platforms. Others stretch out and sleep. Often I have

seen the little Japanese women—all in native dress—sit on their feet on the long bench with their backs to the inside of the car and their heads bent way down into their laps, sleeping soundly. With all sorts of odd-looking bundles and containers, the scene is a striking one to an American who has never seen it before. The Japanese eat fish a great deal, and the smell of different kinds of food in the cars is not appetizing. But there is not the bad odor of bodies that one might anticipate, as the Japanese are, as to their persons, a cleanly people and bathe a great deal. They keep their clothes in good order, and it is remarkable to see in the cities, except among the hardest-working coolies, the cleanliness, neatness, and often the richness of the native dress of all classes of people.

Kobe was only a fishing village up to 50 years ago, when it was opened to commerce. The harbor has been made what it is to-day by dredging and other improvements and even greater are contemplated by the prefectural and national governments.

A JAPANESE GARDEN OF EDEN AND AN ADAM AND EVE.

While it was merely a fishing village, it has a history in Japanese folklore running back to the Japanese Garden of Eden and a Japanese Adam and Eve. The gods placed these progenitors of their race on the island of Awaji, along the shore of which we passed, in sight of Kobe. These two, then the only people in the world, met on the seashore. The woman, Izanami, shouted a greeting to Izanagi. But he was displeased with the woman for speaking first and turned around abruptly and walked around the island until they met again. This time she held her peace and he was satisfied. They created the smaller islands of the Inland Sea by plunging their spears into the sea bottom and pulling them up above the surface. They were the parents of the human race.

We made the 47 miles from Kobe to Kyoto in the evening darkness and could not see the towns or country. But the great number of electric lights in every direction spoke of a dense population in the country, while large concentrated areas of light indicated considerable cities. About midway we stopped at Osaka, which is a city of over 2,000,000 population and exceeded only by Tokyo, which has about 3,000,000. I saw a Japanese gentleman dash onto the platform and he made directly for me. He was the third one of the Japanese commissioners, and he had come 300 miles that day to meet and welcome me to Japan.

At 10 o'clock at night we arrived at the Kyoto station, where we were met by the governor of the Province, the mayor of the city, the president of the chamber of commerce, and many other officials and dignitaries. There is on these occasions a general exchange of cards. Mine had long before given out, but all the members had 200 or 300 printed in China, in English on one side and in Chinese on the other. These I used until they were all gone. There were two hotels in Kyoto, between which we were divided—the Miyako, on the hill, and the Kyoto, in the business part of the town. I had a very fine room at the latter, with high ceiling, elegant Japanese furniture, a large trunk room and clothes closet combined, and a good bathroom. The service was excellent and prompt, though it was at first a little disconcerting to ring for a bell boy to take my shoes to be polished and to have a young lady in an elegant Japanese costume tap gently at the door and make three very low bows before receiving the unpolished shoes. I never did get quite used to it, but we were in Kyoto only four days.

SHOOTING THE HODZU RAPIDS.

On the morning of August 29 our Japanese hosts were at the hotel with autos and local committees, to which were added several Japanese ladies to look after the ladies of our party. Some of them had attended women's colleges in America, such as Vassar, Smith, and others.

Kyoto is an interesting and beautiful city. For more than a thousand years it was the seat of government of the mikados and is rich in history. Even now all coronations of Japanese Emperors must take place in the imperial palace at Kyoto, and the present Emperor was crowned there. It is situated on a fairly level plain, with a river running through the city, while it is surrounded by mountain ranges on three sides.

Kyoto manufactures silk and many other beautiful things. It is said to be the best market in Japan for the purchase of kimono, Damascene jewelry and dolls, with the most skillful makers and artists. Damascene jewelry is said to have been a Kyoto discovery. Yet purchasers need to be prudent and to take reliable Japanese counsel, as they may be deceived. No one should go to Japan without visiting Kyoto.

The morning was a beautiful one, and as our machines, decorated with small American and Japanese flags, passed through the streets we were greeted with many "Banzais" from groups of children. It occurred to me that there could hardly be gen-

eral ill-will toward the United States in this city, or this would not have occurred. Children naturally absorb the friendliness or aversions from the grown-ups and can not easily be induced to reverse their attitude, and there was a continuous shouting of "Banzai!"—which means "Ten thousand years" of happiness. It is the all-embracing greeting of the Japanese and includes everything that we mean in English when we say "Good luck!" "Happy Days!" "How!" or "Hurrah!" The streets of Japanese cities, and particularly Kyoto, are wide and more modern and sanitary than generally are those of China. This does not mean that there are not many very fine and beautiful streets in Chinese cities, but it refers to the less important streets in the more crowded parts of the cities. The aggregate of business in these smaller streets is immense, because of the vast number of small shops. We passed that imperial palace where the Emperors have their coronation ceremonies. It is in a fine park and has a wall about 10 or 12 feet high around it, covering an area of possibly a mile square. The gates were all boarded up, excepting one, where there was a small military guard.

Soon we were outside the city on a good raised macadam road about 20 feet wide, passing through the greenest imaginable fields, mostly of rice, but including all sorts of crops, among them many sweet potatoes. There is one kind of vegetable quite common that has a tall stalk about 3 feet high and a large elephant-ear leaf. They told me that it was a giant radish and was very palatable. It looked to me more like a big turnip or yam.

We crossed a few miles of these fertile plains, and after crossing the Hodzu River, a quite considerable stream, we entered the foothills and commenced to climb a mountain. We made the ascent of several miles by a winding and picturesque way, when we again struck the Hodzu River, at an elevation of several hundred feet higher than at the bridge. Here we left the machine and took the boats which were to carry us down through the mountain gorge to the valley below.

The boats were flat-bottomed, quite large, about 22 feet long, 6 or 7 feet wide, coming to a point at the bows. There was a cloth or canvas covering to protect the passengers from the sun, which was quite hot. We had about a half-dozen of these boats, well filled with the members of our own party and of Japanese committeemen and a few Japanese ladies. It was a very gay party as they took their places in the boats, not knowing just what was going to happen. Each boat was manned by three or four sturdy, bare-footed Japanese boatmen, with long bamboo poles, except the steersman who handled a broad-paddled steering oar.

From the landing place we shot out into the swift stream, and were soon plunging down a narrow and steep rock-lined canyon. For most of the way the channel was quite narrow, and the water foamed over the hidden rocks. It evidently required great skill and a knowledge of every yard of the churning river to avoid wrecking the boats and ducking if not drowning the occupants. There was an opportunity for shipwreck in nearly every rod of the several miles of rapids, and occasionally the boats would ship some water, which the passengers would receive in their laps, notwithstanding the skill of the boatmen. That we avoided striking great rocks at a hundred places seemed almost a miracle. Much work has been done in many places in banking up the rocks and straightening the stream. A railroad ran along the banks or walls of the canyon, frequently plunging through a tunnel where there was not sufficient margin of land outside the river for the road.

The water was cool and perfectly clear, and there are plenty of trout in the river. Numerous Japanese fishermen with broad conical straw hats and long bamboo poles were standing on the rocks and fishing in the swift places as we passed. I ate some of the trout and they were excellent.

In the distribution of the Japanese ladies we had a very modest, well-dressed lady in a Japanese costume, and able to speak a little English, Viscountess A—, in the boat in which I rode. As we neared a point where another stream came into the river I heard the boatmen repeat a short phrase in Japanese two or three times. I asked her what the words meant. She thought a moment and said, "It means where two rivers are fading together." Another stream came in at this point which was the subject of their comment.

After several miles of this exciting navigation we drifted into smooth water above a dam that had been built across the river. Here there are extensive and beautiful groves. It is called Arashiyama, and many picnics are had here after shooting the rapids. From here the boatmen tow and pole the boats back to the head of the rapids for other passengers. It must be a laborious work.

We found our machines at Arashiyama, and were soon back in Kyoto at a wonderful exhibit of the Nishyirin Textile Fabrics, where luncheon was served.

A VISIT TO NARA.

On Monday, August 30, we visited Nara, one of the most interesting and beautiful spots in Japan. It is two hours' ride by rail from Kyoto. It is at quite an elevation, and all the temples and palaces are in a vast park. The hotel was of Japanese architecture, with high ceilings and unstained native woods. Its wide porches overlook a little lake.

Nara, which was the capital of Japan in the eighth century—1,200 years ago—has many objects of interest, but the principal ones are three—the deer park, the giant Buddha, and the great bronze bell in the Temple of Nara.

There are tame deer all over the neighborhood for 2 or 3 miles. We were taken in a procession of rickshas, and people with great trays of thin rice cakes gave handfuls of them to us to feed the deer. They would come right up to the rickshas and nibble the rice cakes from one's fingers. We went to a park where there was a long porch fronting a meadow, where we were seated. We saw two Japanese open a gate several hundred feet away when a great drove of deer—200 or 300—came rushing through like a flock of sheep, all spread over the meadow, to where we were seated. We were above them, so they could not get on the porch, but several went down among them and fed them on the ground.

The next notable sight is the giant bronze Buddha—Daibutsu. It is in a large temple now, although for several centuries it was uncovered, a tidal wave having torn away its former covering. It is a marvelous piece of casting, especially when it is considered that it was done in 749 A. D.—1,171 years ago. Its height is 53½ feet; length of face 16 feet and breadth 9½ feet; mouth, 3 feet 8½ inches in breadth; shoulders, 28 feet 8½ inches in breadth. There are 966 curls on the image, each a foot high and 7½ inches across. The halo forming the background is 83 feet high, 25 feet across, and 5 feet thick. All this is of solid bronze. This is the largest image of Buddha in Japan. I later saw the Kamakura Daibutsu, which is considerably smaller.

The third most notable object in Nara is an enormous bell in the Temple of Nara, which can be rung once for a small fee. Reverent pilgrims and tourists keep it booming very frequently. It is hung in a low belfry, and is rung by pulling a rope that swings a large wooden clapper.

A REGULAR JAPANESE DINNER.

This evening my friend Mr. Natori gave me a regular Japanese dinner. Other guests were the five Japanese members of the Imperial Diet, Baron Kanda, Count Terashima, and Messrs. Higuchi, Tanaka, and Takezawa. We went to quite a celebrated Japanese restaurant that overlooks the River Kamo. They have open-air dining rooms, built out over the river to catch the air, covered at the top but not at the sides. Upon entering all guests take off their shoes or they are taken off by servants, and slippers put on instead. It is easy to see why this is done, as the floors are of polished woods or are covered with the softest of matting, all kept as clean as a dining table. Street shoes would seem to be out of place on them. Cushions laid on the matting took the place of chairs, with a low arm rest to lean on. The food in little dishes is placed on low lacquer or hardwood tables with slightly raised sides and less than a foot high. The Japanese gentlemen, all in native costumes, used chopsticks, but I was given knife, fork, and spoon.

Later I learned to use the chopsticks a little, but I did not try at this dinner. There were all sorts of Japanese dainties—thin slices of raw fish, both red and white, on a plate, with a small cup of a dressing that suggested but was not Worcestershire sauce. First, however, there was a delicious soup in a bowl also containing some pieces of chicken. I will not attempt to describe all the features of the dinner. We were waited on by very prettily dressed Japanese girls in native costumes, who would always bow two or three times when they came in and comfortably settle down on the floor in front of the guest whom they were to serve. Afterwards they proved to be quite artists, some sitting down in a row and playing stringed instruments and others dancing a historical Japanese dance. Although they were geisha girls, it was all as decorous and dignified as anyone could imagine, and although they were very graceful I believe they would be considered too slow and old-fashioned for a turn in an American vaudeville show. Their performance would have been entirely proper at a church festival.

THE IMPERIAL PALACE.

Tuesday morning, August 31, we all visited the Imperial Palace. We passed the armed guard at the outer gate, put on slippers, and went through a great many spacious rooms. The

impression that it made on me was that the furnishings, which were not complete, and the ornamentation of screens and paneled paintings were all very plain and simple. The throne room, where the coronations take place, was much the grandest room, very large, with very high ceilings. The carvings and coloring are elaborate and brilliant, but harmonious. There are two thrones in the room, one for the Emperor, very magnificent, and another, 50 or 60 feet to the left, smaller and less brilliant, for the Empress. Few foreigners are permitted to see the inside of the Imperial Palace, and especially the throne room.

A LOCAL KYOTO FEATURE.

There was one local feature about Kyoto that interested me. That was the bull cart. They are quite a common sight, much more so than at any other place that I saw—a single black bull with a ring in his nose, sometimes with a sort of woven straw or wicker umbrella stretching from his head down over his back and sometimes with a rope around his hoofs. I also noticed in the grounds of two or three temples and in the public parks bronze castings of a black bull with a rope around his neck. I tried to find out what significance it had—what meant the rope around his neck. I asked the question of one of the Japanese ladies who could speak some English when we passed one of these bronzes, but she did not seem to understand me, and one of our ladies undertook to interpret my meaning to her in this way: "He asks why the bronze cow has a rope around his neck." I am still in the dark as to the meaning of the symbolism.

A DAY'S RAILWAY RIDE IN INTERIOR JAPAN.

On Thursday, September 2, we left Kyoto. Our two or three special cars were on a regular train. I have seldom enjoyed a more interesting day of railway travel. The day was not very hot, and, while there were occasionally showers and some clouds, generally the opportunities for sightseeing were very good. We passed through great varieties of scenery—immediately out of Kyoto great plains of fertility and a beautiful lake several miles in circumference, with lofty mountains in the background at no great distance. We passed through a canyon that greatly reminded me of the Sacramento River Canyon in the neighborhood of Dunsmuir. Then we passed for many miles along the seashore like that along the coast line north and south of Santa Barbara, with islands off in the distance like Santa Cruz and San Miguel, always excepting the fact that the Japanese landscape shows more verdure and more intensive cultivation. There were miles of Japanese fishing villages. Then later in the afternoon we were for an hour or more in sight of the world-famed mountain of Japan, Fujiyama, although the clouds resting along its sides prevented our seeing it all at the same time. It is a wonderful mountain, quite symmetrical and inspiring. I could see a little but not much snow near its summit. In some ways it suggests Shasta, but it is not so massive as Shasta, and Shasta appears to carry more snow at the summit through the summer than does Fujiyama.

At Yokohama, where we stopped early in the evening, about the first person that I saw on the platform was my venerable friend, Mr. Kahei Otani, president of the Yokohama Chamber of Commerce. He wore a long gray beard in 1909, and it has now become still whiter. There were a great many other Japanese and American officials at the Yokohama station.

It is less than an hour's run from Yokohama to Tokyo, and the electric lights showed that it is almost a city right through. At 8.25 in the evening we arrived at the first Tokyo station. There were great crowds at the station, which the police held back so as to give the Americans and their escorts a passage, but we were held several times in the station for heavy batteries of newspaper photographers. The flashlights were going off like the guns on a battle front—dozens of them at a time. We finally got through and into autos—it had been raining—and were rolled away to the Imperial Hotel, where we had already been assigned.

OFFICIAL INTERCHANGES OF COURTESIES.

On Friday, September 3, our first day in the Japanese capital, the Congressmen, with Senator HARRIS, made their official calls in a body. First they called at the American Embassy, where, although we have a fine piece of ground advantageously located, our representatives are housed rather shabbily, especially in comparison with Great Britain, France, and other European Governments. Ambassador Morris was absent in the United States, and the embassy was in the keeping of Chargé de Affaires Bell.

We then called upon the president of the House of Peers, Prince Tokugawa, and the president of the House of Representatives at their respective offices on the grounds of the Imperial Diet. These calls were cordial on both sides, but formal. Our cards were left at all these places and those of our hosts were returned to our hotel the same day.

We also called on the mayor of the city at the city hall, Viscount Tejiri. The viscount we found hard at work in a room alone, and lightly dressed on account of the heat. I had quite an interesting talk with him about the ways of street improvement, sewers, harbors, water system, and so forth, and found him well informed on those subjects.

The Imperial Diet gave our entire party a cordial welcome in the form of a luncheon at our hotel a little after noon the same day. It was a very large and well-managed affair, with 400 or 500 at the bountiful tables, including most of the distinguished men in civil life in Japan, many Japanese ladies in native costume, and American ladies as well.

The premier, Mr. Hara, a tall man with a fresh complexion and a head of ample gray hair, together with all the cabinet ministers, was present, and my old friend, Baron Shibusawa, who had been made a viscount that very day, was only two seats away from me. I sat at the head table, and my neighbor on the right was Viscount Kaneko, a graduate of Harvard, and on the left was the mayor, Viscount Tejiri, who proved to be a graduate of Yale. I have seldom had a more interesting hour than that with these two very intelligent gentlemen, especially with Viscount Kaneko. For 30 years he was an intimate friend of Col. Roosevelt. He was the counselor of the Japanese representatives at the Portsmouth peace conference, which closed the Russo-Japanese War, and he is now one of the imperial council, who personally counsel the Emperor.

When the speechmaking came on, Prince Tokugawa, who is president of the House of Peers, made the cordial address of welcome in excellent English. He is a rather short, stout gentleman with a full, frank face, and is the head of a great historical family. The response was made by our chairman, Congressman SMALL, of North Carolina.

The House of Peers, by the way, which has functions analogous to those of our own Senate, has over 300 members. The Japanese House of Representatives has 485 members.

Another address in Japanese was made by the president of the House of Representatives, equivalent to our Speaker.

An address was also made by Mr. Hara, the premier, in Japanese, which was interpreted into English. The Emperor had that day conferred titles for distinguished services upon, or had made promotions of, quite a number, and Mr. Hara had declined a title in order to remain a member of the House of Representatives instead of thus being translated to the House of Peers, which includes only the nobility.

This terminated the formal official welcome. The remainder of this day we had for seeing the city, or shopping, or for using in any way that we might desire—a respite that was greatly appreciated.

WE MEET MARQUIS OKUMA.

On Saturday morning, September 4, the ladies welcoming committee, made up of the leading ladies of Japan, gave a delightful quiet entertainment—a kind of garden party—at the residence and surrounding garden or park of Marquis Koroda. This "garden" is really a fine park of about 35 acres, with woods, flowers, watercourses, glens, and all the ingenious and artistic landscape gardening that especially distinguishes the Japanese. These gardens have fewer formal flower beds and fields than ours, their places being taken by great trees, green and flowering, green lawns, and a general suggestion of quiet comfort and seclusion. What we call the crape myrtle grows into a tree here, and it gives the touch of bright color to the deep verdure that creates the effect of richness and harmony of color. A rain came up and we were entertained in the marquis's residence, with music on ancient Japanese instruments played by Japanese ladies.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon we were received at Waseda, the country home of one of the great men of Japan—Marquis Okuma—author, historian, philanthropist, orator, statesman, founder of Waseda University, at one time premier of the Empire, and one of the most influential of the "elder statesmen." While he was premier a few years ago an anarchist or violent opponent of his policies threw a bomb into his carriage and blew off one of his legs. Even now, however, at 81 years of age, he is erect, vigorous, 6 feet tall, with a fine face indicating strong character. The only indication of a lack of full physical strength is that a personal attendant is required on account of the missing leg, the place of which is only partially supplied by one of wood or cork. This beautiful home and surrounding parklike garden of about 50 acres is situated in the heart of a congested district that formerly belonged to the marquis and was a part of his family estate. I was informed that he desired to found a university, and did so with means obtained from selling a part of this property, all of which was devoted to the founding and conduct of the Waseda University. This university, I understand, has 7,000 or 8,000 students, and is one of

the most useful institutions of learning in Japan. The marquis stood up sturdily during the reception and while he was delivering his address to the party. He and Viscount Shibusawa, very different in physical as well as in mental characteristics, but alike devoted to great ideals, seemed to me the two biggest men that I met in Japan. This does not imply that I did not meet other big men, as in my mind I put Hara, Kaneko, Kanda, Tokugawa, Mitsui, and several others high up in my estimate of ability and character.

I was accorded the honor of making the reply to Marquis Okuma. I took note of the points made by Marquis Okuma as his speech was translated and directed my attention specially to those subjects. His address was intended, in the main, to call the attention of the congressional party, in a courteous way, to the misgivings that the Japanese have as to the treatment of their nationals in the United States. It was not as direct as that, but that was, I construed, the thought behind the words. My reply was intended to give an idea of the question from the United States, or California, standpoint and of the difficulties that attended the mixing of races and peoples. The marquis made a suggestion that the United States and Japan should work together in the East for the benefit of the peoples. To this I replied that the Father of his Country, in his Farewell Address, had cautioned the United States against entering into "entangling alliances" with foreign powers, and that ever since this had been the settled policy of the United States, even where the advantages appeared to be very great. Then I told the bear story—of how the hunter got hold of the tail of the bear and dared not let go for fear that the bear would turn and bite him. I intended this as a suggestion of the difficulties that have come to Japan through their getting hold of Korea and China. The interpreter mixed up the story a little in the translation, which was corrected by one of Marquis Okuma's secretaries; but the Japanese were immensely interested in it, and I could see that they were speculating as to its meaning.

After looking over the beautiful grounds it commenced to rain. Our host had had a large tent put up on the grounds in which to serve a luncheon, to which we repaired. Here were small tables with four persons at a table. I was placed at the marquis's table, and our table talk was interpreted back and forth. He told me that he had not said quite all that he would like to have said, and perhaps he would enlarge it somewhat.

This did not end the day's entertainment. We returned to the hotel, put on evening clothes, and attended a dinner given by Baron and Baroness Mitsui at their beautiful family club, a very elaborate structure on their estate maintained for large entertainments.

After the dinner there was a musical entertainment, at which two Japanese young ladies sang some operatic music—one a soprano and the other a contralto—marvelously well. There was not a particle of accent, and their voices were clear, pure, and strong. Baron Mitsui is one of the brothers of the great house of that name, the largest business concern in Japan. They have railways, coal mines, steamship companies, banks, and about everything.

A DAY AND NIGHT AT NIKKO.

In a country that has hundreds of beautiful places, Nikko and its locality is doubtless the most beautiful of all. There is an old saying among the Japanese that "One can not appreciate the word 'beautiful' until one has seen Nikko." It is situated 91 miles from Tokyo by rail. We made the trip on September 6, with enough luggage to enable us to remain overnight. The country en route is very interesting, agriculturally rich, intensively cultivated, and densely populated. Many phases of the rural and village life of Japan can be observed.

Nikko itself is in the foothills of quite a mountain range, and, having an elevation of 2,000 feet, it was cooler and more comfortable than anything we had before experienced in the Orient. It is so comfortable in the summer that the Emperor spends at least a part of the hot months at his palace in Nikko, and he was at the time occupying this palace, which we passed on our way to Lake Chuzenji. There is a wall around the palace, as is the usual Japanese custom.

Nikko, the town, and the neighboring country is one vast and grand park. There are more of the great Cryptomeria trees here than in any other part of Japan that I have seen. They are a truly grand tree, their foliage, their trunks, and their bark being much like those of the Sequoia, our big trees of California. They have the same habit of decaying a little at the extreme top. But they will not at all compare with the big trees in height or size. The age of some of the largest that I saw was known, as they were planted about a temple at the time it was built, which time was known to be about 500 years. The Sequoias are said by scientists to be 3,000 to 5,000 years

old. But the Cryptomerias are mighty fine, all the same, and running out of Nikko there is an avenue which is lined on either side with them for 15 miles.

Nikko is beautiful altogether aside from its temple structures, which are not so numerous as in many other places. But it has one, the most beautiful of all, which is a combined mausoleum and temple. It is not very ancient, either, and was erected by Iye Mitsu, the third Shogun, in honor of his grandfather, Iyeyasu, the first Shogun, and for his own burial place about 300 years ago.

Many years were devoted to its erection and the best artists and artisans in Japan, with 15,000 workmen, were employed on the work for 12 years. More than \$10,000,000 in gold was expended on the work, and when the low wages that prevailed in that day is considered, a few sen a day, the enormous amount of work involved may be estimated. The result is a series of temples, one above another on the side of high hills, almost mountains, hardly equaled for the magnificence of their carvings and the beauty of their mural decorations from the brushes of the best artists of Japan. Much fine gold was used in the gilding and gems were crushed to make the colors fast.

There is but one unpainted building in the group, and that is a stable, which is a feature common to Shinto shrines. This building is the object of great interest to visitors, as it has the famous panel on which is carved the original of the "three monkeys"—one with his hands over his eyes, another with his hands over his mouth, and the third with his hands over his ears, the meaning being, "See no evil, speak no evil, listen to no evil."

Another interesting structure is the Red Lacquer Bridge, across the rushing River Dolya. Originally the bridge could only be used by the shogun and a special messenger of the Emperor. Now it is not open to the general public, and I saw no one on it at any time; but priests of the shrines may use it on certain festival occasions.

We took in the great temple and shrines on the second day of our visit to Nikko. The first day we went up the road beside the swift River Daiya as far as the autos could take us. The river tears out the banks very often, and the bed is full of boulders. In fact, it looks in many places like a California hydraulic mine. At the foot of a high mountain we left the machines and took rickshas for a climb of about 5 miles. Each ricksha had two men—one to pull between the thills and the other to push. I never saw such a fine trail anywhere. It averaged 10 feet wide, with neat stone-lined gutters on the inside and careful arrangements for turning off the water. But there had been a big storm the day before, and even this excellent trail had been torn out in three or four places; but, although it was only a few hours, they already had repaired the breaks.

The scene from the trail was magnificent. We passed several beautiful waterfalls, and when we had nearly reached the top we could look way back and down below into the Valley of the Daiya. And the air! Exactly like that of the California mountains—cool, bracing, and pure. We stopped at one point where there was a waterfall something like the Multnomah Falls on the great Columbia highway at Portland. But, while very beautiful, there was less water than at Multnomah, and they lack several hundred feet of being as high.

A little farther along we came to a wonderful lake called Chuzenji, in the tops of the mountains, 4,500 feet elevation. A good-sized river flows from it that looks like the Truckee, but carries less water. The lake itself is a perfect gem, several miles long, with green mountains rising from its edges. It is full of fish—salmon trout brought from the United States, which thrive wonderfully. There is a hotel and many summer houses. It was nearly dark when our ricksha went down the trail at a trot, the second man with a stout rope acting as a brake.

GARDEN PARTY AT AN ARSENAL PARK.

This afternoon was spent in visiting the wonderfully interesting shops of Tokyo and sightseeing, until 4 o'clock, when a garden party was given at a famous old garden and park adjoining and attached to a great arsenal. The hosts were the Japan Society of America and Japan, which society has a large organization in New York and in some other cities in America. Naturally its membership consists largely of Japanese who have been in America, either as students, merchants, or in other capacities, and Americans who have been in Japan. There were several hundred ladies and gentlemen at this party, both Japanese and American. This is one of those wonderful gardens or parks such as I have heretofore described, with great trees, lawns like meadows, running waters, meandering graveled or stone-paved walks, and every charming effect of artistic landscape gardening. Probably there were close to a thousand people

assembled at this garden party, but it would accommodate without crowding several thousand.

THE MAYOR OF TOKYO ENTERTAINS.

The mayor of Tokyo had invited our party to an entertainment this evening at the Hyeno Sei-Koyen, a great café and gardens on the Bund, or banks of the river which runs through the city. In this park are two trees planted by Gen. and Mrs. Grant in 1876. We were received in a large room by the mayor, Viscount Tejiri, and the city officials. Shortly after dark there was a display of quite wonderful fireworks, which were located across the river. The effect of the brilliant and ingenious fireworks was greatly augmented by the reflections on the waters of the river. Additional to jets of multicolored fireballs and rockets, there were set pieces of the Stars and Stripes, the American and Japanese flags crossed, and such words as "Welcome."

After the fireworks we were taken into a large room in the nature of a theater, where an interesting entertainment was given, including Japanese music and dancing. When I speak of dancing it always means that women were the performers, as I do not remember ever to have seen men dancing on the stage in Japan, though I presume that they must dance sometimes. At the side of the drop curtain was a sort of bulletin, announcing what the performance was to be, which read, "Dancing, balancing, and juggles." There was some quite wonderful balancing and "juggles." Altogether the entertainment was unique and most interesting.

SIGHT-SEEING IN TOKYO.

On the following morning, Tuesday, September 7, I went out in a ricksha for a sight-seeing trip through some of the main business streets. This is a good way to see things in a leisurely way, and riding in a ricksha is very comfortable. The ricksha man when he has a passenger is accorded a very fair show on the roadway. He trots along with an American passenger not quite as speedily as he does with a Japanese, as he seems to know that an American will not hurry him up. He emits a sharp "Hi, hi!" to obstructing pedestrians or conductors of other vehicles, and, if light, they usually move out of the way. The rates are moderate, but higher in Japan than in China. The first hour in China is about 50 or 60 cents Mexican; in Japan 1 yen 20 sen the first hour, or 60 cents in American money, and less for the second hour and so on.

Later in the day I took a long ride all over the city with Mr. N—— in his machine. We passed the Emperor's Palace, with an ancient high wall, kept in perfect order, with a wide water moat next to the wall, perhaps 100 feet wide. The masonry in this and other walls, with irregular-shaped blocks of stone, which has retained its place for centuries, is most remarkable. We passed through narrow crowded business streets, as well as broad avenues and airy and well-kept parks. We drove through the wonderful grounds of some private residences. Among these was that of Viscount Shibusawa, who was down town at his office at the time. His majordomo showed us about the grounds, which are very fine; but his house is quite modest and not nearly so grand as those of many who are not so highly esteemed or wealthy. From a round observatory, open at the sides and large enough to accommodate a goodly company, on a hill which overlooks the industrial portion of Tokyo, he pointed out 20 or 30 high chimneys of great manufacturing plants, all belching forth black smoke, and said: "When Viscount Shibusawa commenced his work in this city there was but one chimney, where you now see all those. It was Viscount Shibusawa who gave the start to all of these great works. He thus gave employment to many thousands, and made this great city what it is to-day. Those smoking chimneys will be his monuments. He has preferred them to a grand house."

AMERICAN COLLEGE ALUMNI GARDEN PARTY.

At 2 o'clock this afternoon our entire party went out into the edge of Tokyo, or just outside the city, to the residence of Mr. Hyashi, who manages the Imperial Hotel, to a garden party given by Japanese alumni of American colleges and universities. Nearly every well-known college was represented among the hosts. Mr. Hyashi has quite a princely estate, much of it devoted to raising crops. He pointed out that no houses but his own could be seen, the trees along the borders hiding houses in the distance. The hosts numbered 200 or 300, and they had erected large tents for all sorts of stunts.

On Wednesday morning, September 8, the forenoon was clear, and we had another opportunity of looking around this interesting city of Tokyo. This is in the richest and most densely populated part of Japan, and while the city alone has a population of nearly 3,000,000 people, the district about Tokyo has about 5,000,000. The city necessarily spreads over a great extent of territory, as the houses are for the most part but two

stories in height. Universally, almost, the roofs of the houses are tiled with a grayish-black tiling. There are many canals running through the city and through the country outside.

THE PAN-PACIFIC UNION.

At 1.30 we all attended a meeting in advocacy of the Pan-Pacific Union, the organizer of which, Alexander Hume Ford, of Honolulu, had been with our party from the time that we were at Honolulu. The meeting was held at the Peers' Club, on the grounds of the Imperial Diet. The object is to organize the nations bordering on the Pacific so far as to foster mutual interests, correct international misunderstandings, and promote peace. There was a remarkable representation of men of influence in their respective countries at this luncheon, from Japan, China, Mexico, and the United States. The addresses all bore upon the subject of peace.

THE Y. M. C. A. IN THE ORIENT.

Throughout both Japan and China we found the Y. M. C. A. very strong and efficient. They are doing a great deal for America, and are served by a splendid force of young men, both native and American. Here in Tokyo they have their own building, well fitted up with gymnasium as well as other equipment, and we were invited to spend an hour there between 4 and 5 o'clock, which we did.

A lady of our party was much pleased to meet here two Japanese ladies who, as girls, had been fellow students with her at Holyoke, Mass. I had a talk with a Japanese gentleman in native costume who is a strong financial pillar of the Y. M. C. A., who had been to Los Angeles several times. He—Mr. Ito—is one of the leading oil producers of Japan, and I found that there is quite a healthy oil development in Japan. He had visited California and other oil-producing States to observe oil methods and conditions.

A BIG COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATION GIVES A JAPANESE THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENT AND DINNER.

This evening we attended an elaborate entertainment given in honor of the congressional party by one of the large commercial organizations of Tokyo, the Commercial Association of Nishonbashi. Tokyo is divided into districts, and Nishonbashi is one of them. They are larger than wards, and business cards bear the name of the district as part of the address. The Commercial Association is a sort of chamber of commerce. Nishonbashi was evidently an important section, and the entertainment was on a broad and generous scale.

After a reception by the association's officers to our entire party, we were ushered into a theater, which was a part of the Fuquiro restaurant Yamokura, where we found ourselves and where, on a good-sized stage, we were shown some typical Japanese classical dancing, with Japanese music. There was one historical dance, in which the costumes were very rich and the dancing very dignified and decorous. In fact, that will describe most Japanese dancing. This was followed by a dance with a little more action, in fact, I believe it is considered the acme of light-heartedness, in which about a dozen geisha girls participated.

Then followed a Japanese dinner, but with the important modification that the guests sat in chairs at the table, which ran along three sides of a large room. The same geisha girls who had taken part in the dances and many others waited upon the tables from the inside of the quadrangle. The menu was made up of regular Japanese food, including slices of uncooked fish, and served in the Japanese way on little tables placed on the big table. It was a great novelty to the ladies of our party, but there were few who ventured to test the raw fish.

JAPAN'S STATE DEPARTMENT GIVES A LUNCHEON.

On Thursday, September 9, we were to go to Yokohama in response to two invitations, but before going, at 12.30, the Members of Congress only attended a state luncheon, given by Premier Hara at the Japanese foreign office. There was nothing in the foreign office or at the table that was in the least ostentatious or gaudy.

Those present were the premier and all the members of the Japanese ministry, including ministers of war, navy, railways, communications, education, and all the others. They were all middle-aged men of quiet but cordial demeanor, and they, too, left an impression of solidity and ability. The minister of education, Mr. Tokugoro Nakahashi, was one of the Japanese commercial commissioners of 1909.

While it was not at all a cold, chilly party, very sensibly I thought, no speeches were made.

While we were at lunch a noted Japanese artist was engaged in the premier's office in painting favors, which were to be presented to the members of our party as souvenirs. We

saw him at work later, and he did it with incredible swiftness and with a few touches of the brush.

After the luncheon the party all left for Yokohama in special cars to meet their engagements there.

The run takes about an hour, and upon our arrival we were taken from the railway station to the city hall, or Kaikwan, as it is called, where a reception and entertainment were given from 4 to 7 o'clock.

The American Association of Yokohama is a live body of men, and we enjoyed an enthusiastic meeting with our own countrymen again, where no interpreting was necessary. There are several hundred bright young American business men in Yokohama of the same superior character that we had found in other oriental cities.

They wished to tell us about some of the difficulties that they labor under in these countries, which could be remedied by legislation. They had four speakers, who presented briefly and concisely four such subjects. We had but one or two speakers, who promised them that we would endeavor to get our laws as they affected our nationals in foreign lands into such shape that they would have a fair chance with their competitors from foreign countries. Congressman HARDY, of Texas, made a ringing patriotic speech.

In the evening our Japanese welcoming committee—Count Terashima, Baron Kanda, Mr. Haguchi, Mr. Tanaka, and Mr. Kakezawa—gave the party another Japanese dinner. As some of our party had something to say about the Japanese immigration question, I explained the subject from the California standpoint as I understood it. I had already done this to some extent in a conversation with Viscount S——, and I was destined to do it more fully on the following day to some of the leading Japanese statesmen.

"THE CALIFORNIA QUESTION."

Saturday, September 10, had been the day fixed for our departure from Yokohama, but the *Madawaska* did not reach Yokohama until the afternoon of this day and had to put on 2,800 tons of coal for the voyage. As it was raining, this was slow work, and we were told that she would not be made ready to sail before Monday. The morning of this day was devoted to formal good-byes.

Our Japanese welcoming committee had been very careful throughout the three weeks of our visit to introduce no subject of conversation that might be the subject of controversy or in-harmony, but "the California question," as it was called, was frequently referred to by others, and the opinions of members of the party, even ladies, was often requested, directly or indirectly. In fact, it was evidently uppermost in the minds of a majority of those we met who considered public affairs at all. The Japan Advertiser, the leading English-language newspaper in Tokyo or Japan, published each day three or four columns of editorial extracts from Japanese papers. Nearly all these extracts indicated considerable editorial ability, and some of them were quite fair. Others, however, in discussing "the California question" were very bitter and either badly informed or purposely untruthful in their statements, all to the detriment of the humanity and good faith of the people of California in particular and of the United States in general. As I was from California, notwithstanding I had so many good personal friends among leading Japanese, I was rather frequently referred to in connection with "the California question," and I finally determined that when the appropriate time came I would give the California side of the question to the best of my ability.

Viscount Shibusawa, Viscount Kaneko, Baron Sakatani, and others wanted to have a meeting, or confidential conference, for a "heart to heart" talk on the subject. I opposed anything in the nature of a formal conference, especially a secret one, on the grounds that we had no authority to represent the American Congress or to make any agreements, and that we ought not to. But whether we did or not, any conference of that sort was sure to be misrepresented. For myself, I was willing to talk to anyone, Japanese or otherwise, and tell them exactly what I thought about any phase of the subject, but I would not go into any conference of any sort, secret or otherwise.

Viscount Shibusawa, however, wanted to talk to us about it, and his secretary told me that it was so much on his mind that he would feel better if he could do so. So he invited the Congressmen to take luncheon with him, Viscount Kaneko, Baron Sakatani, and Dr. Sayda on Saturday.

After the luncheon and we had gone to another room, Viscount Shibusawa, whose remarks were translated into English by his secretary, said that he felt grateful to us for affording him an opportunity to lay before us his views on the questions now pending between the United States and Japan.

He then recounted quite accurately the history of oriental immigration into the United States—how in the early days of

the gold discoveries in California labor was scarce and Chinese labor was obtained from China; how for some years such labor was welcome; how later it became unpopular and the Chinese exclusion laws were enacted by the United States; how the "gentlemen's agreement" was made to prevent Japanese immigration; how laws were passed in California making it illegal for citizens of Japan to acquire real estate in that State. Now he was disquieted by reports of the efforts to have enacted still more drastic legislation, which would result in the practical confiscation of the property of Japanese in that State and their expulsion with the loss of their property and even life itself. He hoped that something could be done to avert this threatened drastic legislation.

Mr. SMALL made a brief reply, and Mr. HARDY of Texas suggested that Mr. OSBORNE was a Representative from California—he had heard him on another occasion state the California side of the question, and he thought it would be well if he would now speak on the subject.

I had on two previous occasions—once to Viscount Shibusawa personally and once at a Japanese dinner given by the Imperial Diet welcoming committee—touched on the subject, but not covering all its features. As there were now present some of the leading statesmen of Japan, I determined to speak in entire frankness to them, and to make the viewpoint of California as clear as I was able; not only to them, but to the eastern Congressmen as well.

The substance of my talk was about like this:

I hesitate to comply with the request to speak on what has been referred to as "the California question," as it may appear ungracious in a guest to present views on an important matter in variance with those of his hosts. But the very importance of the subject may overcome the consideration of courtesy, and in this case I believe that perfect frankness and honesty of statement, with a view to a full understanding of the reasons actuating the people of California, is justified.

In the early days of California, as Viscount Shibusawa has stated, labor was scarce, and coolie labor from China was obtained. For a time it was very welcome, as it filled a pressing want. At that time, and for many years thereafter, there was no immigration from Japan. But in a few years the immigration of Chinese was so great that it became alarming. Shipload after shipload of Chinese came at shortening intervals, until it seemed that the Chinese population of California would exceed that of Americans. Then followed the anti-Chinese agitation, resulting finally in the enactment by the American Congress of the Chinese exclusion laws, of the wisdom and justice of which, personally, I entertained no doubt. The immigration of Japanese in appreciable numbers did not commence until about 20 years ago, and it attracted no public attention until considerably later than that. When it was proposed to extend the law excluding Chinese laborers to Japanese laborers, Japan had protested, and in lieu of such a law the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" was entered into, under the terms of which the emigration of Japanese labor to the United States was guaranteed to cease—to be prevented by the Japanese Government. It was the contention of California that the agreement had not been lived up to, especially in recent years; that there had been a marked increase in Japanese population in California was quite obvious. The census recently taken would give the facts relative to this contention in a short time.

As to the treatment accorded to Japanese in California, I am unable to understand the newspaper and other references to ill treatment. The county of Los Angeles, in which I reside, doubtless has a greater number of Japanese residents than any other county in the United States. I have some acquaintance with the leading Japanese, and in my personal experience I have never known of a case of ill treatment. If there were such cases I am sure that they would be brought to my attention by the Japanese themselves. We have in Los Angeles County several thousand Japanese, and I doubt if there is an equal number of Japanese anywhere, not excepting Japan, that are better treated, more prosperous, or more happy.

The question in California is not one of relative superiority of races. Superiority or inferiority of race is not involved or considered. The question is one of difference—radical difference. Japanese are brought up in different environments, different methods of life, different ideals. They do not assimilate with American people, but are what we call "clannish." I do not state that as a fault but as a fact, naturally following the differences that I have mentioned. Immigrants from European countries soon become assimilated with the American people and interested members of the communities in which they live, and the accumulations of their industry go to increase the resources of the community. Not so the Japanese. They associate with each other, and to but a limited extent with their American neighbors. Their hearts and their hopes are in this beautiful country—their native land. When they have accumulated enough money to return with a competence they do return and remove their savings to this land instead of adding it to American resources. So, economically, they are to that extent a drain upon our country.

Neighbors are not desirable neighbors unless they are neighborly, and do the social services to each other that are common to an ideal neighborhood. People whose language and methods of life are foreign and not understandable are not desirable neighbors. In small numbers they are not specially objectionable, but in large numbers they may change the community from a desirable one into one that is positively undesirable, and which Americans seeking places for homes will avoid. It is these indisputable facts that led to the enactment of the California law forbidding Japanese ownership of real estate.

The methods pursued by Japanese in California were about as follows: A Japanese of sufficient means would buy a ranch or farm in the midst of some rich and prosperous agricultural district, generally where fruits are specially prosperous. Soon another Japanese would buy a ranch adjoining and then another and another, until there was a considerable Japanese colony. Japanese stores would appear in the adjoining town or village. The schools would be partially filled with Japanese children, and in many ways the community would take on the appearance of a Japanese community. Adjoining American landowners would be dissatisfied with the conditions and sell out and go

elsewhere—and sell at a low figure to other Japanese. Thus the value of real property was affected detrimentally. The further this process went the faster it grew, until some very rich fruit-growing sections of California passed into the ownership of foreigners, who could not even vote on questions of local government. One such community I can name—that of Florin, about 20 miles south of Sacramento—which has become nearly as distinct a Japanese community as though it were situated 20 miles from this city of Tokyo. This is not an isolated case, but it is perhaps the most notable one. California people, observing this process of evolution from American to Japanese communities, see no reason why the same process if unchecked may not operate in a more sweeping way and the entire State come under the same alien control. It is these conditions that brought about the anti-Japanese landowning laws.

When Japan came into the family of nations in the early fifties, her statesmen, fearing that one of the dangers to your country was that it should in some way come under foreign domination, enacted laws that rendered it impossible for Americans and all foreigners to obtain legal title to real estate in Japan. That law, which is a wise one, is in effect to-day, and I nor any other American can legally hold title to an acre of land in Japan. It is true that you have a long-time leasing law, but again wisely your limitations upon its exercise are so stringent that it is nearly impossible for a foreigner to enjoy its advantages. Your nation was entirely within its rights and just discretion in enacting such a law. A nation has the same natural right to say who shall and who shall not own the soil within its boundaries that the head of a family has to say who shall and who shall not come within his family circle. His reasons for so doing are a matter for his own judgment, the validity of which is not to be determined by others. The people of California, which is a sovereign State of the American Union, have the same right in this regard as the people of Japan have. The question is not one of prejudice, but it is economic.

But these laws, regarded by a majority of the people of California as necessary and justifiable, were evaded by some of your countrymen among us in two ways.

First, Japanese who could not hold legal title to land, by forming themselves into a corporation under the corporation laws, could as stockholders in the corporation do so; and hundreds of these incorporations were formed in the State, and purchases of land went on about as before the law was enacted.

Second, Japanese children born in the United States, notwithstanding their parents are not and never will be citizens, become American citizens, under the provisions of the American Constitution. As citizens they can, through the agency of legal guardians, hold property. The California courts have been crowded with applications for guardianship of such infants for the purpose of making purchases of real estate in their name, thus evading the intent of the law.

There is also what is known as the "picture bride" phase of the subject. A young Japanese laborer in the United States, unmarried, desires a wife and family. He sends to some agency in Japan, the exact nature of which I do not know, and informs the agency of his desire. A number of photographs are sent him of young Japanese women who are subject to their order. From these photographs he selects one that best pleases him, and the young woman is shipped from Japan to the United States. He meets her and they are married. Often she works on the farm or in the field like any other laborer. Children born of such marriages, under the constitutional provision that I have mentioned, become citizens of the United States, and may, under legal guardianship, hold real estate; many in California, born in these conditions, do so hold real estate.

I am not fully informed as to the details of the proposed referendum on this subject to be voted upon at the election in November, as it has been presented since my departure from the United States, but I presume that it is intended to fill the gaps through which the present anti-Japanese land-owning law is evaded in the ways that I have described. In the interest of a long-continued friendship between Japan and America, I believe that this law should be made effective and that Japanese immigration should cease. It should not be left open as a cause for irritation.

As to the charge that the legislation proposed will result in confiscation of the property of Japanese, I will say that I would certainly not approve legislation that would have that effect, and no honest men could. But there is a clause in the Constitution of the United States, as there is in the constitution of California, that no resident of the Nation or State can be deprived of property without just compensation and without due process of law. If the proposed California legislation should justify the interpretation which it had been given in Japan, which I greatly doubt, under the constitutional provisions that I have mentioned, the courts would undoubtedly nullify it.

I ask you to remember that our country is not free from very serious problems. Our country is called the "melting pot," upon the theory that all races and all nationalities melt into a homogeneous nationality under our system and come out Americans. Of late we have been learning that this is not altogether true. We have taken into our political system an enormous percentage of foreigners, and many of them do not "melt" and become Americans. They remain an undigested mass in the stomach of our political system, causing many troubles. Many of our statesmen favor an entire cessation of all foreign immigration for a period of years, until we shall at least catch up with our digesting process, instead of going on and taking in new foreign material.

Remember also that in some parts of America we have race questions of the utmost seriousness, which frequently manifest themselves in the ways that we all deeply regret. We do not desire to add other race problems to these that we already have, and think it better to head them off before they have become serious. In this way we believe that we will best serve the cause of peace and friendship between Japan and America.

In thus frankly setting forth the viewpoint of California on this question, as I understand it, I trust that I have not overstepped the lines of courtesy, as I highly value the esteem and friendship of the eminent citizens and statesmen of Japan here assembled.

I was thanked for making the statement that I had made and for its fair tone, but no reply was attempted to be made to the argument in favor of the California view that the statement itself carried. In talking with Viscount Shibusawa, when he called on me at the Imperial Hotel two or three days before, I had gone over this same ground, but not quite so fully. I also made one other suggestion to him, which I did not repeat at this time, as it did not specially apply to the California situa-

tion. Mr. SMALL referred to the same matter in his talk, preceding mine. I said to the viscount:

There is one other matter of which I should speak. We of the United States who have some familiarity with Japan know, or think we know, that you and those who act with you favor peace; that your desires are to build up the commerce and industries of your country, to maintain friendly relations with America and other nations, and to foster the arts of peace, that your country may become strong and your people enjoy the fruits of peace. But we also have the idea that, although the element of which you are a leader control the civil government, there is another strong element in the Government in Japan that has quite different ideals, and that this other element in the final analysis has the greater power and controls the actions of your Government. I refer to the military power. We have the idea that the military powers frequently take vital steps in Japan's relations with foreign powers that you and your friends would not yourselves initiate or favor, and that they commit you to harsh and repugnant foreign policies, and having committed Japan they leave you to explain such actions as best you can; in other words, that your military leaders act independently of the civil government and entirely outside their control.

I then told him how in our Government, in times of peace, Congress, representing the civil authority, always had control of the military powers through the ability to grant or withhold appropriations of money for its support.

The viscount's reply was that the military power in Japan was steadily waning. In olden times it had been very strong, but of late years it had been steadily decreasing. He did not, however, say that I was positively mistaken.

One other thing that I told him was about the "picture brides" in California. In reply I was told that this practice had been stopped since last May, I think.

I made one other talk on this subject at a Japanese dinner, and I have since felt relieved that I unburdened my mind on the subject and in the highest quarters in Japan.

The Japanese gentlemen received my talk without apparent annoyance or resentment, and were very cordial in bidding us good-by.

A VISIT TO KAMAKURA—ANOTHER GIANT BUDDHA.

On the morning of September 12 I went to Kamakura, which is about a two hours' ride by rail from Tokyo, on the seashore. It is a wonderfully picturesque old place, with many ancient shrines and temples, many modern villas of Japanese noblemen, and an imperial summer residence. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries this place was the capital of the Empire.

Another of the three giant Buddhas, or Daibutsus, of Japan, and second in size to that at Nara, is located here. This one is 50 feet in height and 3½ feet less than the one at Nara, but appears smaller. It stands in the open air and on a granite pedestal, and with a background of fine old Cryptomeria trees. The eyes, which are each 4 feet across, are said to be of pure gold. The casting was made in 1252, nearly 700 years ago, and it has been visited by millions of pilgrims.

Another of the sights of Kamakura is the great Hachiman Shrine, one of the most imposing in Japan. The site of the present shrine has been occupied as a shrine for centuries, but the present structure is quite modern—only about 100 years old.

WE SAIL FOR HOME.

Word was passed around on Sunday evening to the few left at the Imperial Hotel that the *Madaucaska* was to sail from Yokohama at 4 o'clock on the following day, Monday, September 13, and that a special train would take us over to Yokohama, leaving at 10 a. m. The Japanese welcoming committee went with us, and many others were at the station to say good-by and to bid us "bon voyage."

On our arrival at Yokohama we went direct to the *Madaucaska*, which was lying at the dock with steam up, to see our luggage aboard and to locate ourselves in our assigned rooms.

Some of our Japanese friends shed tears on saying good-by.

The wharf was crowded with Americans and Japanese as the steamer rather quickly cleared the wharf, turned around, and started out of the harbor—a very busy one, with lots of shipping. Soon we were out in the bay, with many attractive islands to our right and left. It was about dark when we passed out of Tokyo Bay into the open ocean, and our last glimpse shoreward showed the fading lights of several busy towns of a very wonderful and interesting country.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] desire to allot any further time?

Mr. CANNON. I do not. I think the bill better be read.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further allotment of time, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

For fees and expenses of examining surgeons, pensions, for services rendered within the fiscal year 1922, \$500,000.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk and ask to have read. Before it is reported I desire to state that I realize that the amendment is subject to a point of order, but I will ask the

chairman of the committee to withhold the point for a few minutes.

Mr. CANNON. I shall make the point when it is necessary and withhold it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. BANKHEAD: Page 2, after line 12, add a new section, as follows:

"Section 9 of the act approved June 4, 1920, entitled 'An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes,' is hereby repealed."

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the point of order.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for his courtesy. I presented this matter rather extensively to the committee a few moments ago. I think that the question of providing a repeal of the section of the naval appropriation bill that prohibits ex-service men who are honorably discharged from the service from wearing the uniforms issued to them by the Government is a great injustice to those men.

I feel sure that every member of the committee agrees with me that it is a matter of sufficient importance to justify immediate action of some sort by the House of Representatives and the Senate. I realize, of course, that my amendment is obnoxious to the rule with reference to germaneness and new legislation, but I merely desire to offer the amendment for this purpose in order that the committee to which will be referred the bill or resolution I expect to introduce this afternoon on the subject may have pointed out to it the specific legislation that it is necessary to repeal in order to get relief.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I have not traced the origin of this section in the appropriation bill for the maintenance of the Navy. Was section 8 an amendment offered in the Senate or in the House?

Mr. BANKHEAD. I did not get a copy of the original House bill. I obtained only a copy of the act as it passed and was approved. My impression is that an examination will disclose that the section was not put into the original House bill, but was a Senate amendment.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. It clearly would have been subject to a point of order in the House.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Yes. I found on examination of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the debate when the House bill was passed that absolutely no reference was made to this section in debate. As it was clearly subject to a point of order, if it had been offered, that convinces me that it must have been offered in the Senate.

Mr. CAMPBELL of Kansas. I agree with the contention of the gentleman, that the law never should have been enacted and should be repealed.

Mr. BANKHEAD. It was certainly the intention of Congress, as far as this House was concerned, to provide that all honorably discharged men could wear the uniform provided they displayed upon their sleeves some distinctive emblem to show they were in that class.

I am very much obliged to my friend, the chairman of the committee, for his indulgence, and I do not feel like pressing him to waive the point of order. I feel that it would be a very grave infraction of the rules, but it might be justified as a matter of expediency if the gentleman upon reflection might see fit to waive the point of order.

Mr. CANNON. Well, after all, this is a pension bill, I will say, and the Committee on Military Affairs or the Committee on Naval Affairs—it was on the naval bill, was it not—having put it on, they had better take it off. In other words, if I should be on the conference committee I would not want to hold this pension bill up in the event it was insisted upon on the other side because it does not belong on this bill.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Well, I want to say I have no possible complaint in reference to the attitude assumed by the chairman of the committee. From his standpoint I think he is thoroughly justified.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair was unable to hear the gentleman from Illinois. Does he make the point of order or withdraw the reservation?

Mr. CANNON. I think the gentleman had better withdraw his amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. That can only be done by unanimous consent.

Mr. CANNON. I will make it, if it is necessary.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Well, Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact I served the purpose I really had in mind and got in the RECORD the section which is obnoxious, I shall ask leave to withdraw the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the gentleman withdrawing the amendment? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee do now rise and report the bill with the recommendation that the bill do pass.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the committee rose; and Mr. WALSH, Speaker pro tempore, having resumed the chair, Mr. McARTHUR, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 15334, the pension bill, had directed him to report the same back without amendment with the recommendation that the bill do pass.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the bill to final passage.

The previous question was ordered.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. CANNON, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

PENSIONS.

Mr. FULLER of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Invalid Pensions, I call up the bill H. R. 15196, an omnibus pension bill, and ask unanimous consent that it be considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FULLER] asks unanimous consent that the bill H. R. 15196, an omnibus pension bill, be now considered in the House as in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 15196) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war.

Mr. FULLER of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the first reading of the bill be dispensed with.

Mr. GARRETT. I suppose the gentleman does not mean to dispense with the reading of the bill. I suppose at some time the bill has to be read.

Mr. FULLER of Illinois. I did not catch what the gentleman said.

Mr. GARRETT. There is no first and second reading of a bill being considered in the House. There is to be only one reading. If the gentleman wants to make his remarks before the bill is read, there is no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will read the bill for amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to place on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws—

The name of Sarah M. Brown, widow of Philip M. Brown, late of Company D, One hundred and sixteenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Mary Arnold, widow of James Arnold, late of Company C, One hundred and fiftieth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Malvina A. Williams, widow of Russell A. Williams, late of Company F, Twelfth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Margaret J. Cutright, widow of John H. Cutright, late of Company F, One hundred and forty-ninth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Ella V. Altmeyer, widow of Mathias Altmeyer, late of Company H, Fifteenth Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Ottile Carrol, widow of Charles Carrol, late of Company A, One hundred and sixty-fifth Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Matilda Starbuck, widow of William N. Starbuck, late of Company G, One hundred and thirtieth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Florence F. Wellington Washburn, widow of Nathan A. Washburn, late of Company F, Twelfth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Militia Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month, and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to the soldier at the time of his death.

The name of Aurelia E. Wilkins, widow of James H. Wilkins, late of Companies G and A, Fourteenth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Katherine Shurts, widow of John W. Shurts, late of Company G, Eighty-sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Lurinda F. Haines, widow of Eli Haines, late of Company D, Fifty-fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Jane P. Hoyt, widow of Alonzo A. Hoyt, late of Company C, First Regiment Vermont Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Elizabeth H. Waugh, widow of William W. Waugh, late of Company G, Fifth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Militia Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Susan C. Kendrick, widow of Theron W. Kendrick, late of Company D, Forty-sixth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Catherine Rentfro, widow of Francis M. Rentfro, late of Company K, First Regiment Illinois Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Mahala Goff, widow of Bethuel J. Goff, late of Company C, Eighty-third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Henrietta W. Carlisle, widow of Joseph Carlisle, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Harriet A. Wormuth, widow of Alfred D. Wormuth, late of Company F, One hundred and forty-third Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Julia E. Wooster, widow of George B. Wooster, late of Company D, Tenth Regiment New York Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Cynthia A. Miller, widow of William K. Miller, late of Company H, Thirty-first Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Ruth Maxwell, widow of James T. Maxwell, alias James H. Davis, late of Company E, Twelfth Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Infantry, and Company L, Fifth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Fannie Gilbert, widow of Hiram Gilbert, late of Company C, Thirty-first Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Nancy C. Henderson, widow of Wilson Henderson, late of Company A, Ninety-eighth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Mary E. Tussing, widow of Harmon Tussing, late of Company H, Twenty-sixth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Clara B. Plessner, widow of Otto R. Plessner, late of Company H, Second Regiment Ohio Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Mary E. Applegate, widow of Edwin R. Applegate, late of Company H, Eleventh Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Pernecia Boozer, widow of John Boozer, late of Company D, One hundred and eleventh Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Lydia Smith, widow of Lewis Smith, late of Company G, Fifteenth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month.

The name of Rosetta Chaney, widow of William H. Chaney, late of Company K, Forty-ninth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Laura Adams, widow of Hiram Adams, late of Company G, One hundred and thirty-fourth Regiment, and Company B, One hundred and forty-seventh Regiment, Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to the soldier at his death.

The name of May J. Wode, helpless and dependent daughter of Charles Wode, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Nancy E. Hixson, widow of William Hixson, late of Company C, Thirty-first Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Virginia A. Dixon, widow of Thomas Dixon, late of Companies G and A, Ninth Regiment, and Company K, One hundred and twenty-eighth Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Fanny Stewart, widow of George D. Stewart, late of Company B, One hundred and eleventh Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Marinda Maynard, widow of Aldin Maynard, late unassigned, First Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Ellen M. Deer, widow of Job Deer, late of Company G, One hundred and thirty-third Regiment, and Company E, One hundred and forty-ninth Regiment, Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Fanny Stewart, widow of George D. Stewart, late of Company A, Twenty-fifth Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Lena Derl, helpless and dependent daughter of Charles Derl, late of Company B, Forty-third Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Louisa Gladwish, widow of John W. Gladwish, late of Company D, Third Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Ann Vanfleet, widow of Otis B. Vanfleet, late of Company A, One hundred and second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Alice Moore, widow of John H. Moore, late of Company C, One hundred and fiftieth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving: *Provided*, That in the event of the death of Nettie S. Moore, helpless and dependent daughter of said Alice and John H. Moore, the additional pension herein granted shall cease and determine: *Provided further*, That in the event of the death of Alice Moore, the name of said Nettie S. Moore shall be placed on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, at the rate of \$20 per month from and after the date of death of said Alice Moore.

The name of Adam Perry Kaufman, late of the United States Navy, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$50 per month.

The name of Fanny Van Winkle, widow of Jacob Van Winkle, late of Company C, Twenty-first Regiment New Jersey Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Sarah Isabell Lowe, helpless and dependent daughter of John Lowe, late of Company A, Eleventh Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Adelia Doersh, widow of Lorenzo Doersh, late of Company H, One hundred and twenty-third Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving: *Provided*, That in the event of the death of William Doersh, helpless and dependent son of said Adelia and Lorenzo Doersh, the additional pension herein granted shall cease and determine:

Provided further, That in the event of the death of Adella Doersh, the name of said William Doersh shall be placed on the pension rolls, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, at the rate of \$20 per month from and after the date of death of said Adella Doersh.

The name of Carrie Hover, widow of Jonathan Hover, late of Company A, One hundred and eighty-third Regiment, and Company A, One hundred and eighty-eighth Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Ellen J. Johnston, helpless and dependent daughter of Franklin L. Johnston, late of Company H, Seventeenth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Francis M. Chronister, former widow of James E. Buckhanon, late of Companies C and G, Fiftieth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Clara Estelle Sollers, helpless and dependent daughter of James H. Sollers, late of Company B, Seventy-third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Robert Gardner, late of Company I, Thirteenth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and Company H, Twenty-third Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$50 per month.

The name of Alice Jewett, helpless and dependent daughter of Charles Jewett, late of Company K, Fifty-fourth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Cyrus J. Wilsey, late of Company K, One hundred and ninety-ninth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$50 per month.

The name of Sarah M. Standish, widow of Newton L. Standish, late of Company E, Tenth Regiment New York Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Sarah E. Hall, widow of Theodore Hall, late of Company C, One hundred and forty-fourth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Martha Nave, widow of Daniel S. Nave, late of Company A, Thirtieth Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month, and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to the soldier at his death.

The name of Annie Baird, widow of Hiram Baird, late of Company B, First Regiment East Tennessee Volunteer National Guard Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Elizabeth Hopper, widow of Thomas Hopper, late of Company F, Sixty-fifth Regiment, and Company F, One hundred and twentieth Regiment, Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Garrett Williamson, helpless and dependent son of James K. P. Williamson, late of Company F, Thirty-ninth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Mary B. Morgan, widow of William H. Morgan, late of Twenty-fifth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Ella B. Flaherty, helpless and dependent daughter of Francis P. Flaherty, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Marion A. McClelland, widow of George W. McClelland, late of Company G, One hundred and fifth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Anna Lowe, widow of William A. Lowe, late of Company B, Twenty-second Regiment, Company F, Twenty-seventh Regiment, and Company A, One hundred and forty-fourth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Julia Ann Hopkins, helpless and dependent daughter of Thomas B. Hopkins, late of Company F, Eleventh Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Nellie J. Merriman, widow of Truman A. Merriman, late of Company B, Ninety-second Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Eva Miller (Junatic), helpless and dependent daughter of Nathan E. Miller, late of Company A, Seventy-fourth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary A. Smith, widow of Peter C. Smith, late of Company I, One hundred and forty-fifth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of William F. Hawley, helpless and dependent son of Francis Hawley, late of Company F, One hundred and forty-first Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Eliza J. Gibson, widow of David Gibson, late of Company A, Forty-third Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Mary Lewis, widow of Greenville Lewis, late of the United States Navy, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Andrew J. Legg, late of Company N, ——— Regiment, and Company C, Fifty-first Regiment, Enrolled Greene and Christian Counties Home Guards, Missouri Volunteer Militia, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$55 per month.

The name of Cynthia Timberlake, widow of Pleasant Timberlake, late of Company F, Twenty-second Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Clara Mahoney, helpless and dependent daughter of William J. Mahoney, late of Company K, One hundred and twenty-sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Charles Blaker, helpless and dependent son of Charles W. Blaker, late of Company B, Fifth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Hannah B. Kesler, widow of William Kesler, late of Company B, Second Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Marion B. Patterson, widow of Robert F. Patterson, late of Twenty-ninth Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Catherine F. Edsall, former widow of William H. Edsall, late of Company E, Eleventh Regiment Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, and

pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Emily W. Johnson, widow of Charles W. Johnson, late of Companies G and B, Second Regiment New York Veteran Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Nathaniel Bitner, late of Company D, Veteran Battalion, Second Regiment Potomac Home Brigade Maryland Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$50 per month.

The name of Susanna Spencer, widow of Archibald Spencer, alias William Webster, late of Company H, Second Regiment Provisional Enrolled Missouri Volunteer Militia, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Warner M. Ellis, helpless and dependent son of William Ellis, late of Company I, One hundred and thirty-first Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of Louisa E. Harrison, widow of Thomas J. Harrison, late of Eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Annie A. Lewis, former widow of George W. H. Allen, late of Company E, First Regiment Rhode Island Volunteer Light Artillery, and Company L, Eleventh Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of John Seidel, helpless and dependent son of John Seidel, late of Company H, Fourth Regiment New York Volunteer Cavalry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of William H. Knowles, late of Company I, Ninth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and Company A, Ninth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$50 per month.

The name of Sue N. Inness, widow of William Inness, late of the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Regiments United States Colored Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of John H. Walker, helpless and dependent son of Irvin B. Walker, late of Company D, Forty-eighth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of Lucina Heath, helpless and dependent daughter of George C. Heath, late of Company H, Twenty-third Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Sallie J. Pile, widow of George Pile, late of Company H, First Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and Company A, Thirty-second Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Sarah Athens, widow of Edward G. A. Athens, late of Company D, First Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Sarah C. Turner, widow of Loren H. Turner, late of Company F, Ninth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Addie M. Blair, widow of Willard C. Blair, late of Company G, Two hundred and third Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Edmond D. Judkins, late of Company E, Fourth Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Mounted Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$50 per month.

The name of Inez Mabel Chase, widow of Ambrose P. Chase, late of Company A, Twenty-first Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to soldier at the time of his death.

The name of Esther A. Blythman, widow of James Blythman, late of Company I, Twenty-fourth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Mary Neal, widow of James Neal, late of Company E, First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary J. Kimball, widow of Lorenzo A. Kimball, late of Company K, Fourth Regiment United States Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Mary A. Hale, widow of James Hale, late of Company H, Eighth Regiment New York Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Eliza E. Clink, widow of Adam Clink, late of Company H, Fifty-sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and Company Fifty-eight, Second Battalion, Veteran Reserve Corps, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Mary A. Flick, widow of Joseph Flick, late of Company A, Sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to the soldier at the time of his death.

The name of Sarah C. Mattox, widow of William Mattox, late of Company F, Forty-third Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of William A. Bengel, helpless and dependent son of Isaac F. Bengel, late of Company H, Seventieth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of Elizabeth DuHamel, widow of William J. C. DuHamel, late acting assistant surgeon, United States Army, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month.

The name of Emma Brock, widow of William P. Brock, late of Company B, One hundred and tenth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Alice M. Jones, widow of William M. Jones, late of Company H, First Regiment Vermont Volunteer Cavalry, and Company H, Tenth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Manella A. Eastman, widow of William H. Eastman, late of the Second Independent Battery, Massachusetts Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Charles Geiger, alias Charles Fischer, late of Company I, Second Regiment Maryland Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$50 per month.

The name of Alice M. Knox, widow of Walter Knox, late of Company F, Fifth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to the soldier at the time of his death.

The name of Marie Schneider, widow of John D. Schneider, alias Daniel Schneider, late of Company G, First Regiment New Jersey Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Ann A. Hall, widow of Christopher Hall, late of Company H, Ninety-seventh Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of S. Eliza Faught, widow of James J. Faught, late of Company D, Eighth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Taylor Hall, helpless and dependent son of John Hall, late of Company H, Eighth Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of Wilhelmine Roehl, widow of Fritz Roehl, late of Company E, Twenty-first Regiment Iowa Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Edward E. Berry, helpless and dependent son of James T. Berry, late of the United States Navy, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of William Bieber, helpless and dependent son of Oscar Bieber, late of Company K, Seventeenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of Nina R. Benjamin, widow of James H. Benjamin, late of Companies M and I, Twenty-first Regiment New York Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Jennie A. Fisk, known as Adella J. Fiske, former widow of Frederick C. Lawrence, late of Company F, Sixth Regiment New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month.

The name of George F. Phillips, helpless and dependent son of Ruel Phillips, late of Company E, Sixteenth Regiment Maine Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Lucy Esterbrooks, widow of Ashabill P. Esterbrooks, late of Company H, One hundred and forty-second Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Emily L. Bennett, widow of Bradford W. Bennett, late of Company H, Tenth Regiment Rhode Island Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Cena M. Maples, widow of William Maples, late of Company M, Second Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month, and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to the soldier at the time of his death.

The name of Clara Larish, helpless and dependent daughter of Andrew S. Larish, late of Company A, Ninetieth Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary Polo, widow of Andrew Polo, late of Company A, Fourteenth Regiment New York Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving: *Provided*, That in the event of the death of Emma Polo, helpless and dependent daughter of said Mary and Andrew Polo, the additional pension herein granted shall cease and determine: *Provided further*, That in the event of the death of Mary Polo the name of said Emma Polo shall be placed on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, at the rate of \$20 per month from and after the date of death of said Mary Polo.

The name of Ella K. Johnson, widow of Henry T. Johnson, late of Company G, Eighth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Francis Ann Sherlaw, widow of Miles Sherlaw, late of Company K, Ninth Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Ada L. Kinsey, widow of William B. Kinsey, late of One hundred and sixty-first Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Mary V. Benton, widow of John Benton, late of Company C, Two hundred and fifth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving: *Provided*, That in the event of the death of Elizabeth Benton, helpless and dependent daughter of said Mary V. and John Benton, the additional pension herein granted shall cease and determine: *Provided further*, That in the event of the death of Mary V. Benton, the name of said Elizabeth Benton shall be placed on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, at the rate of \$20 per month from and after the date of death of said Mary V. Benton.

The name of Hannah Atchison, widow of William D. Atchison, late of the Forty-fifth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving: *Provided*, That in the event of the death of Florence J. Atchison, helpless and dependent daughter of said Hannah and William D. Atchison, the additional pension herein granted shall cease and determine: *Provided further*, That in the event of the death of Hannah Atchison, the name of said Florence J. Atchison shall be placed on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, at the rate of \$20 per month from and after the date of death of said Hannah Atchison.

The name of Helen M. Gross, widow of Solomon Gross, late of Company H, One hundred and forty-fifth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Nicholas Brady, helpless and dependent son of Thomas Brady, late of Company B, Twenty-ninth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of Agnes Fowler, widow of Lyman H. Fowler, late of Company C, Sixteenth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and Companies E and I, Sixteenth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Annie L. Marksbury, widow of James W. Marksbury, late of Company G, Thirty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Luella E. Foote, helpless and dependent daughter of Bronson H. Foote, late of Company C, One hundred and sixty-sixth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of W. Walter Branyan, helpless and dependent son of Robert H. Branyan, late of Company B, Thirteenth Regiment Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of Harriet Barnes, widow of Corydon J. Barnes, late of Company A, Fourth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Mary Hist, widow of Henry Hist, late of Company D, One hundred and twenty-fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Ellen Smith, widow of Thomas Smith, late of Company C, First Regiment, and Company C, One hundred and ninety-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Martha Short, widow of Eldridge Short, late of Company B, Third Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Mounted Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Eliza Macomber, widow of Clark Macomber, late of Company B, Twentieth Regiment Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Mary V. Barlow, widow of James C. Barlow, late of Company C, Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Lola Beebe, widow of Lewis M. Beebe, late of the band, Forty-sixth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Margaret Gilbow, widow of John Gilbow, late of Company C, One hundred and forty-second Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Harriet E. Sabin, widow of Luther B. Sabin, late of Company I, One hundred and ninth Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Daisy M. Tibbott, widow of David Tibbott, late of Company F, Ninety-third Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month, and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to the soldier at the time of his death.

The name of Mary E. Taylor, widow of Theodore W. Taylor, late of Company E, Twenty-fourth Regiment New York Volunteer Cavalry, and Company E, First Regiment New York Volunteer Provisional Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month, and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to the soldier at the time of his death.

The name of Naoma Dobie, widow of Francis T. Dobie, late of Company C, First Battalion, Fifteenth Regiment, United States Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Addie Martin Blevans, helpless and dependent daughter of John S. Beard, late of Company G, Fifty-third Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Miranda Johnson, helpless and dependent daughter of Thomas W. Johnson, late of Company D, Fifty-eighth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Elbert M. Deffendall, helpless and dependent son of Abram Deffendall, late of Company I, One hundred and forty-third Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of Mary L. Nevill, helpless and dependent daughter of Thomas Nevill, late of Company K, Twelfth Regiment Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Catharine Conn, helpless and dependent daughter of Francis M. Conn, late of Company B, First Regiment Indiana Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving, to be paid to duly appointed guardian.

The name of Orpha Conroy, widow of Moses B. Conroy, late of Company H, First Regiment New York Volunteer Light Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Clara E. Fritcher, widow of Henry Daniel Fritcher, late of Company M, Eighth Regiment New York Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and Company G, Tenth Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Roxie L. Colbert, widow of John L. Colbert, late of Company C, Ninth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Annie Beck, widow of Felix Beck, late of Company G, Twelfth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Elvira M. Anderson, widow of William B. Anderson, late of Sixtieth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$40 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Catharine Pentz, widow of David A. Pentz, late of Company H, One hundred and second Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving: *Provided*, That in the event of the death of Charles B. Pentz, helpless and dependent son of said Catherine and David A. Pentz, the additional pension herein granted shall cease and determine: *Provided further*, That in the event of the death of Catharine Pentz, the name of said Charles B. Pentz shall be placed on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, at the rate of \$20 per month from and after the date of death of said Catharine Pentz.

The name of Mary A. Chorpennning, widow of Samuel A. Chorpennning, late of Company G, First Battalion, Nineteenth Regiment United States Volunteer Infantry, and Company H, First Battalion, Provisional Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Elizabeth Corby, helpless and dependent daughter of Eli C. Corby, late of Company G, First Regiment West Virginia Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month, payable to a duly appointed guardian.

The name of John D. Gardner, alias John Darity, late of Company K, Ninety-third Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$50 per month.

The name of Flora McMann, widow of William A. McMann, late of Company M, Seventh Regiment Michigan Volunteer Cavalry, and Company I, First Regiment Michigan Volunteer Veteran Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Isaac N. Bayless, helpless and dependent son of Daniel B. Bayless, late of Company A, First Regiment Tennessee Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Margaret Ann Evans, widow of Zedic R. Evans, late of Company A, Sixty-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving: *Provided*, That in the event of the death of Minnie M.

Evans, helpless and dependent daughter of said Margaret Ann and Zedie R. Evans, the additional pension herein granted shall cease and determine: *Provided further*, That in the event of the death of Margaret Ann Evans, the name of said Minnie M. Evans shall be placed on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, at the rate of \$20 per month from and after the date of death of said Margaret Ann Evans.

The name of Adaline C. Bellew, widow of James F. Bellew, late of Company G, Thirty-seventh Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Rose Dodge, widow of David E. Dodge, late of Company G, One hundred and sixty-ninth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Drafted Militia Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Minnie Alldaffer, widow of Joel Alldaffer, late of Company A, One hundred and eighty-seventh Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month, and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to the soldier at the time of his death.

The name of Mary E. Harris, widow of Bateson Harris, late of Company G, Forty-fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Leah F. Ruess, widow of Anthony J. Ruess, late of Company A, One hundred and sixty-fourth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Anna Snyder, widow of John Snyder, late of Company I, One hundred and seventy-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Bridget Hopkins, widow of Patrick Hopkins, late of Company H, Ninetieth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving: *Provided*, That in the event of the death of Lizzie Hopkins, helpless and dependent daughter of said Bridget and Patrick Hopkins, the additional pension herein granted shall cease and determine: *Provided further*, That in the event of the death of Bridget Hopkins the name of said Lizzie Hopkins shall be placed on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, at the rate of \$20 per month from and after the date of death of said Bridget Hopkins.

The name of Caroline Bartlett, widow of Eugene Bartlett, late of Company F, Thirty-first Regiment Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Sarah E. Fisk, widow of John W. Fisk, late of Battery A, Fifth Regiment United States Volunteer Artillery, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Lelia Crawford, helpless and dependent daughter of Charles N. Crawford, late of Company E, One hundred and forty-third Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month, payable to duly appointed guardian.

The name of Ella Parsons, helpless and dependent daughter of George W. Parsons, late of Company E, Seventy-sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Amanda J. S. Brockway, widow of Nicholas M. Brockway, late of Company G, Fifty-seventh Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Emergency Militia, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month and pay to her the amount of pension accrued to the soldier at the time of his death.

The name of Terrissa N. Hunter, widow of Andrew J. Hunter, late of Company A, One hundred and sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Thomas Spearman, helpless and dependent son of John Spearman, late of Company F, Forty-third Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Abbie M. Packard, helpless and dependent daughter of Charles Packard, late of Company D, Thirtieth Regiment, and Company K, Thirtieth Regiment, Maine Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Lillie Werntz, helpless and dependent daughter of John S. Werntz, late of Company K, Seventy-first Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of David Conrad Doup, helpless and dependent son of Frederick Doup, late of Company B, Second Regiment Virginia Volunteer Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month.

The name of Elizabeth Fobes, widow of Daniel A. Fobes, late of Company A, Sixty-fifth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving: *Provided*, That in the event of the death of Charles Fobes, helpless and dependent son of said Elizabeth and Daniel A. Fobes, the additional pension herein granted shall cease and determine: *Provided further*, That in the event of the death of Elizabeth Fobes, the name of said Charles Fobes shall be placed on the pension roll, subject to the provisions and limitations of the pension laws, at the rate of \$20 per month from and after the date of death of said Elizabeth Fobes.

The name of Phoebe A. Fairhurst, widow of George H. Fairhurst, late of Company C, Forty-fourth Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Maria A. Owens, widow of William J. Owens, late of Company F, One hundred and fifty-second Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Elizabeth Langley, widow of Alonzo D. Langley, late of Company A, Fiftieth Regiment Missouri Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$35 per month in lieu of that she is now receiving.

The name of Ferdinand Lambert, helpless and dependent son of Andrew Lambert, late of Company A, First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Heavy Artillery, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month, payable to a duly appointed guardian.

The name of Edmund Hishley, helpless and dependent son of Coonrod Hishley, late of Company A, Second Battalion, District of Columbia Volunteer Militia Infantry, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$20 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of George W. Bagley, late of the Construction Corps, Quartermaster Teamster Department, United States Volunteers, and pay him a pension at the rate of \$50 per month in lieu of that he is now receiving.

The name of Eunice Wright, widow of Watson W. Wright, late of Company A, Ninety-second Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and

the Second Battalion Veteran Reserve Corps, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Bridget Mitchell, widow of Alexander Mitchell, late of Company A, Eighth Regiment New York Volunteer Cavalry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

The name of Emma K. Barrett, widow of William B. Barrett, late of Company B, Seventy-fourth Regiment United States Colored Volunteer Infantry, and pay her a pension at the rate of \$30 per month.

This bill is a substitute for the following House bills referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions:

H. R. 1892. Sarah M. Brown.	H. R. 13950. Mary J. Kimball.
H. R. 1935. Mary Arnold.	H. R. 13953. Mary A. Hale.
H. R. 2444. Malvina A. Williams.	H. R. 13970. Eliza E. Clink.
H. R. 4559. Margaret J. Cutright.	H. R. 14026. Mary A. Flick.
H. R. 4938. Ella V. Altmeyer.	H. R. 14030. Sarah C. Mattox.
H. R. 5767. Ottilie Carrol.	H. R. 14031. William A. Bengel.
H. R. 5901. Matilda Starbuck.	H. R. 14033. Elizabeth DuHamel.
H. R. 6196. Florence F. Wellington Washburn.	H. R. 14039. Emma Brock.
H. R. 6276. Aurelia E. Wilkins.	H. R. 14045. Alice M. Jones.
H. R. 6533. Katherine Shurts.	H. R. 14050. Manella A. Eastman.
H. R. 6540. Lurinda F. Haines.	H. R. 14051. Charles Geiger, alias Charles Fischer.
H. R. 6702. Jane P. Hoyt.	H. R. 14080. Alice M. Knox.
H. R. 6703. Elizabeth H. Waugh.	H. R. 14083. Marie Schneider.
H. R. 6847. Susan C. Kendrick.	H. R. 14104. Ann A. Hall.
H. R. 7221. Catherine Rentfro.	H. R. 14110. S. Eliza Faught.
H. R. 7565. Mahala Goff.	H. R. 14115. Taylor Hall.
H. R. 7712. Henrietta W. Carlisle.	H. R. 14118. Wilhelmine Roehl.
H. R. 7810. Harriet A. Wormuth.	H. R. 14142. Edward E. Berry.
H. R. 7903. Julia E. Wooster.	H. R. 14143. William Bieber.
H. R. 7986. Cynthia A. Miller.	H. R. 14149. Nina R. Benjamin.
H. R. 8476. Ruth Maxwell.	H. R. 14169. Jennie A. Fisk, known as Adella J. Fiske.
H. R. 8526. Fannie Gilbert.	H. R. 14181. George F. Phillips.
H. R. 8530. Nancy C. Henderson.	H. R. 14189. Lucy Esterbrooks.
H. R. 8672. Mary E. Tussing.	H. R. 14191. Emily L. Bennett.
H. R. 8677. Clara B. Plessner.	H. R. 14192. Cema M. Maples.
H. R. 8802. Mary E. Applegate.	H. R. 14201. Clara Larish.
H. R. 8852. Pernecia Boozer.	H. R. 14205. Mary Polo.
H. R. 9006. Lydia Smith.	H. R. 14210. Ella K. Johnson.
H. R. 9094. Rosetta Chaney.	H. R. 14211. Francis Ann Sherlaw.
H. R. 9443. Laura Adams.	H. R. 14215. Ada L. Kinsey.
H. R. 9405. May J. Wode.	H. R. 14219. Mary V. Benton.
H. R. 9471. Nancy E. Hixson.	H. R. 14232. Hannah Atchison.
H. R. 9640. Virginia A. Dixon.	H. R. 14235. Helen M. Gross.
H. R. 9797. Ella Merrick.	H. R. 14236. Nicholas Brady.
H. R. 9798. Marinda Maynard.	H. R. 14246. Agnes Fowler.
H. R. 9907. Ellen M. Deer.	H. R. 14251. Annie L. Marksbury.
H. R. 10198. Fanny Stewart.	H. R. 14253. Luella E. Foote.
H. R. 10716. Lena Derl.	H. R. 14266. W. Walter Brannan.
H. R. 10901. Louisa Gladwish.	H. R. 14267. Harriet Barnes.
H. R. 10977. Ann Vanfleet.	H. R. 14268. Mary Hist.
H. R. 11146. Alice Moore.	H. R. 14269. Ellen Smith.
H. R. 11271. Adam Perry Kaufman.	H. R. 14272. Martha Short.
H. R. 11461. Fanny Van Winkle.	H. R. 14276. Eliza Macomber.
H. R. 12075. Sarah Isabell Lowe.	H. R. 14278. Mary V. Barlow.
H. R. 12079. Adelia Doersh.	H. R. 14288. Lola Beebe.
H. R. 12226. Carrie Hoyer.	H. R. 14300. Margaret Glibow.
H. R. 12361. Ellen J. Johnston.	H. R. 14305. Harriet E. Sabia.
H. R. 12406. Francis M. Chronister.	H. R. 14318. Daisy M. Tibbott.
H. R. 12521. Clara Estelle Sollers.	H. R. 14319. Mary E. Taylor.
H. R. 12570. Robert Gardner.	H. R. 14320. Naoma Dobie.
H. R. 12574. Alice Jewett.	H. R. 14323. Addie Martin Blevans.
H. R. 12638. Cyrus J. Wilsey.	H. R. 14324. Miranda Johnson.
H. R. 12665. Sarah M. Standish.	H. R. 14325. Elbert M. Defendall.
H. R. 12700. Sarah E. Hall.	H. R. 14326. Mary L. Nevill.
H. R. 12769. Martha Naye.	H. R. 14327. Catharine Conn.
H. R. 12837. Annie Baird.	H. R. 14331. Orpha Conroy.
H. R. 12876. Elizabeth Hooper.	H. R. 14332. Clara E. Fritcher.
H. R. 12912. Garrett Williamson.	H. R. 14339. Roxie L. Colbert.
H. R. 13092. Mary B. Morgan.	H. R. 14349. Annie Beck.
H. R. 13096. Ella B. Flaherty.	H. R. 14359. Elvira M. Anderson.
H. R. 13182. Marion T. McClelland.	H. R. 14372. Catharine Pentz.
H. R. 13238. Anna Lowe.	H. R. 14380. Mary A. Chorpennig.
H. R. 13252. Julia Ann Hopkins.	H. R. 14397. Elizabeth Corby.
H. R. 13302. Nellie J. Merriman.	H. R. 14402. John D. Gardner, alias John Darity.
H. R. 13315. Eva Miller (lunatic).	H. R. 14405. Flora McMann.
H. R. 13367. Mary A. Smith.	H. R. 14435. Isaac N. Bayless.
H. R. 13372. William F. Hawley.	H. R. 14448. Margaret Ann Evans.
H. R. 13391. Eliza J. Gibson.	H. R. 14503. Adaline C. Bellew.
H. R. 13409. Mary Lewis.	H. R. 14504. Rose Dodge.
H. R. 13488. Andrew J. Legg.	H. R. 14507. Minnie Alldaffer.
H. R. 13565. Cynthia Timberlake.	H. R. 14509. Mary E. Harris.
H. R. 13569. Clara Mahoney.	H. R. 14510. Leah F. Ruess.
H. R. 13659. Charles Blaker.	H. R. 14513. Anna Snyder.
H. R. 13695. Hannah B. Kesler.	H. R. 14528. Bridget Hopkins.
H. R. 13709. Marion B. Patterson.	H. R. 14529. Caroline Bartlett.
H. R. 13710. Catherine F. Edsall.	H. R. 14530. Sarah E. Fisk.
H. R. 13730. Emily W. Johnson.	H. R. 14585. Lelia Crawford.
H. R. 13732. Nathaniel Bitner.	H. R. 14586. Ella Parsons.
H. R. 13736. Susanna Spencer.	H. R. 14642. Amanda J. S. Brockway.
H. R. 13741. Warner M. Ellis.	H. R. 14711. Terrissa N. Hunter.
H. R. 13759. Louisa E. Harrison.	H. R. 14765. Thomas Spearman.
H. R. 13780. Annie A. Lewis.	H. R. 14843. Abbie M. Packard.
H. R. 13784. John Seidel.	H. R. 14877. Lillie Werntz.
H. R. 13819. William H. Knowles.	H. R. 14962. David Conrad Doup.
H. R. 13829. Sue N. Inness.	H. R. 14963. Elizabeth Fobes.
H. R. 13843. John H. Walker.	H. R. 14978. Phoebe A. Fairhurst.
H. R. 13854. Lucina Heath.	H. R. 14979. Maria A. Owens.
H. R. 13861. Sallie J. Pile.	H. R. 14980. Elizabeth Langley.
H. R. 13867. Sarah Athens.	H. R. 14990. Ferdinand Lambert.
H. R. 13888. Sarah C. Turner.	H. R. 15001. Edmund Hishley.
H. R. 13895. Addie M. Blair.	H. R. 15044. George W. Bagley.
H. R. 13898. Edmond D. Judkins.	H. R. 15051. Eunice Wright.
H. R. 13918. Inez Mabel Chase.	H. R. 15066. Bridget Mitchell.
H. R. 13920. Esther A. Blythman.	H. R. 15071. Emma K. Barrett.
H. R. 13934. Mary Neal.	

Mr. FULLER of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to return to page 12. I wish to offer an amendment on page 12.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to return to page 12 of the bill. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. The Clerk will report the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment by Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Page 12, line 11, strike out "\$30" and insert in lieu thereof "\$20."

The question was taken, and the amendment was agreed to.

The bill as amended was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. FULLER of Illinois, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER pro tempore. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee. I want to ask leave to extend my remarks upon the tariff bill passed last night.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks upon the tariff bill passed yesterday. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next immediately after the reading of the Journal and the disposition of matters on the Speaker's table it may be in order to take up bills on the Private Calendar in the House and consider those bills to which at that time objection is not made.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wyoming asks unanimous consent that on Monday next, after the reading and approval of the Journal and the disposition of business on the Speaker's table, it shall be in order to take up bills on the Private Calendar in the House and consider those unobjected to. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, I do so for the purpose, if the gentleman will permit me, of propounding a parliamentary inquiry to the Chair concerning the matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BLANTON. Under the unanimous-consent request made by the gentleman from Wyoming, should the calendar be called and all of the cases pending on it be called through the calendar, then would it be in order thereafter for those cases to be recalled even over an objection?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair would think not under the request for unanimous consent.

Mr. MONDELL. Unquestionably not.

Mr. BLANTON. That was held here at one time, gentlemen will remember, and numerous cases passed over objection. If that were the rule in this House, then I would be forced to object, but if it is only that those cases unobjected to may be called I shall not object.

Mr. MONDELL. That is the request.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. The precedent cited by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BLANTON] was on a Private Calendar day.

Mr. BLANTON. Yes. That is the distinction.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wyoming?

There was no objection.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE—WORLD DAIRY CONGRESS (S. DOC. NO. 347).

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House a message from the President of the United States, which was read, as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a report by the Acting Secretary of State, with an accompanying copy of a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture favoring legislation by the Congress that will give governmental sanction to the world's dairy congress which it is contemplated to hold in the United States in 1922, and will enable the Government of the United States officially to invite participation of foreign Governments therein.

I invite the attention of the Congress to the commercial and scientific value which the Secretary of Agriculture thinks would accrue to the important dairy industry of the United States by holding the proposed congress, and I ask for the matter the favorable consideration of the Congress.

It will be observed that no appropriation is asked for at this time, but that if the holding of the proposed congress be authorized by the Congress of the United States it may be that the dairy organizations of the United States may, if found necessary, ask the Congress for a small appropriation in addition to the \$100,000 which they themselves propose to raise.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

23 December, 1920.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The message and accompanying documents will be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and ordered printed.

Mr. MANN of Illinois. Or the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, it should be referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I submit.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair is advised and understands that similar messages involving matters of like import have been referred to the Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. ROGERS. If the Chair will pardon me a moment, I will say that the annual Diplomatic and Consular appropriation bill contains 20 or 30 provisions for international congresses of various kinds, such things as have no possible relationship, so far as subject matter goes, to foreign affairs, or to that committee, but because they call for international meetings they are deemed by this House, I think, to present a question of foreign affairs which ought to be within the jurisdiction of that committee.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Well, with the consent of the House the Chair will defer the reference of the matter until the Speaker returns.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 40 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned, under the order previously made, until Monday, December 27, 1920, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV,
267. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting recommendation for legislation to make available until expended the appropriation for additional pumping facilities to supply water to the filters, was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: A bill (H. R. 15345) to define who are vagrants in the District of Columbia and to prescribe punishment for vagrancy; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. SNYDER: A bill (H. R. 15346) providing for the continuance of the Osage Indian School, Oklahoma, for a period of 10 years from July 1, 1921; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. JONES of Texas: A bill (H. R. 15347) to amend section 7 of the Federal reserve act approved December 23, 1913, as amended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. LAZARO: A bill (H. R. 15348) providing for a survey of waterway from Lake Charles, La., to the Sabine River, Tex. and La., through the Calcasieu River and the intracoastal waterway from Calcasieu River, La., to Sabine River, Tex. and La.; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BLACK: A bill (H. R. 15349) granting a pension to Thomas A. De Berry; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BOIES: A bill (H. R. 15350) granting a pension to Martin O. Frauendorf; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CRAMTON: A bill (H. R. 15351) granting a pension to Margaret S. Kibbee; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CURRIE of Michigan: A bill (H. R. 15352) granting a pension to Emma L. Williams; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HOUGHTON: A bill (H. R. 15353) granting a pension to Anna L. Pendleton; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15354) granting a pension to Ella H. Anthony; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15355) granting a pension to Levi S. Seeley; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15356) granting a pension to George Pendergast; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15357) granting an increase of pension to Percy D. Ganung; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. KNUTSON: A bill (H. R. 15358) granting an increase of pension to Harris Dreebin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LANGLEY: A bill (H. R. 15359) granting a pension to Clark P. Hoskins; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McFADDEN: A bill (H. R. 15360) granting an increase of pension to Albert Johnson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McKINLEY: A bill (H. R. 15361) granting an increase of pension to Rhoda Workman; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOTT: A bill (H. R. 15362) granting a pension to Jennie Hall; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. OLNEY: A bill (H. R. 15363) for the relief of the owner of the schooner *Itasca* and her master and crew; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RADCLIFFE: A bill (H. R. 15364) granting an increase of pension to Julia P. Overacker; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RANDALL of California: A bill (H. R. 15365) granting a pension to Emily T. Minkler; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. REED of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 15366) granting an increase of pension to George Martin; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15367) granting an increase of pension to George R. Robinson; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 15368) granting a pension to Joseph D. Blackwell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. RHODES: A bill (H. R. 15369) for the relief of Monroe Gann; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROBSON of Kentucky: A bill (H. R. 15370) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Davis; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SLEMP: A bill (H. R. 15371) granting a pension to Andrew J. Shell; to the Committee on Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

4692. By Mr. BLAND of Missouri: Petition of numerous citizens of Missouri, advocating enactment of Sheppard-Towner bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4693. Also, petition of numerous citizens of Missouri, advocating and urging enactment of Sheppard-Towner bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4694. By Mr. CHINDBLOM: Petition of August G. Wegener and 487 others, protesting against presence and conduct of colored French troops in the occupied German territory; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

4695. By Mr. CRAMTON: Petition of Roy B. Lyons, secretary, on behalf of Washington Grange, No. 1655, Washington, Mich., asking for the enactment of the French-Copper fabric bill (H. R. 11641); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4696. Also, petition of Mrs. J. M. Dodge, of Cass City, Mich., and others, asking for the passage of the Sheppard-Towner bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4697. Also, petition of John Doepker, of Pigeon, Mich., and others, protesting against the presence of uncivilized colored soldiers of the French Republic in the occupied districts of Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

4698. Also, petition of Lapeer Home Circle, of Lapeer, Mich., asking that the water-power act be amended so as not to apply to national parks and monuments, also for the defeat of the Fall's River Basin bill; to the Select Committee on Water Power.

4699. Also, petition of E. H. Scott, of Armada, Mich., and others, for an amendment to the United States Constitution which shall grant and guarantee the rights and privileges of citizenship to the members of the race of American Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

4700. By Mr. DARROW: Petition of the Philadelphia Bourse, in behalf of simplification in the matter of tax returns by individuals, firms, and corporations; also the Philadelphia Board of Trade, recommending that internal-revenue laws be so framed as to be simple in form and free from complex regulations as to filing reports or making statistical statements; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

4701. By Mr. DOUGHTON: Petition of the Woman's Club of Albemarle, N. C., indorsing the Sheppard-Towner maternity bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4702. By Mr. FULLER of Illinois: Petition of the Kankakee Chamber of Commerce, of Kankakee, Ill., favoring 1-cent drop-letter postage; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4703. Also, petition of 90 ladies of the Dekalb, Ill., Women's Club, favoring the passage of the Sheppard-Towner maternity bills, S. 3259 and H. R. 10925; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4704. By Mr. KELLEY of Michigan: Petition of Homer L. Boyle, of Lansing, Mich., requesting legislation authorizing the President to call an international conference to relieve suffer-

ing caused by existing famines, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

4705. By Mr. MORIN: Petition of the Neville Island Civic Club, of Coraopolis, Pa., urging the immediate passage of the Sheppard-Towner maternity bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4706. By Mr. TINKHAM: Petition of American citizens of Boston, Mass., against the interference by America in Ireland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

4707. By Mr. YATES: Petition of the Kane County Farm Bureau, by W. B. Richards, farm adviser, urging the passage of the French-Copper truth in fabric bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4708. Also, petition of the Railway Mail Association of Washington, D. C., by Mr. W. M. Collins, industrial secretary, urging the removal of the pledge of secrecy exacted of the railway postal clerks in connection with compensation and classification for the employees of the Railway Mail Service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4709. Also, petition of E. B. Leigh, president Chicago Railway Equipment Co., of Chicago; the Haddorff Piano Co., of Rockford, Ill.; and the W. F. Hall Printing Co., all favoring the early passage of House bill 11984, the Nolan Patent Office force and salaries bill; to the Committee on Patents.

4710. Also, petition of the Hollywood Woman's Club, of Hollywood; the Suburban Civics Club, of Oak Park, by Mrs. J. H. Lee; Anna L. Fries, of Chicago; O. H. Call, of Princeton; and E. A. Elmenstrom, of Chicago, all of the State of Illinois, protesting against House bill 12466 and the water power act; to the Select Committee on Water Power.

4711. Also, petition of Hon. William L. Gleason, mayor of the city of Brockton, Mass., and the president of the board of aldermen and of the common council with reference to certain legislation regarding the fixing of the price of coal; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

4712. Also, petition of A. L. Castle, president of the Channon-Emery Stove Co., of Quincy, Ill., urging the passage of legislation providing 1-cent drop-letter postage; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

4713. Also, petition of the Vermilion County League of Women Voters, by Mrs. Charles W. Fleming, of Danville; the Child Welfare Association, of Danville; and the Hollywood Woman's Club, of Hollywood, all of the State of Illinois, favoring the passage of the Sheppard-Towner bill; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

SENATE.

MONDAY, December 27, 1920.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we would not be true to the trusts that have been committed to us if we undertook the duties of a new day in our own self-sufficiency or if we did less than invoke Thy blessing upon the labor of our hands and hearts. We look to Thee, the guide of all men, the judge of all men, and yet we have been taught to call Thee our Father and know that Thou hast an infinite interest in all that pertains to the welfare of our children. Grant us such measure of grace to-day as that we may do the things that are pleasing in Thy sight to forward the cause that is nearest to Thy heart, the cause of peace and justice and righteousness in the earth. For Christ's sake. Amen.

NAMING A PRESIDING OFFICER.

The Secretary (George A. Sanderson) read the following communication:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, D. C., December 27, 1920.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. CHARLES CURTIS, a Senator from the State of Kansas, to perform the duties of the Chair this legislative day.

ALBERT B. CUMMINS,
President pro tempore.

Mr. CURTIS thereupon took the chair as Presiding Officer.

THE JOURNAL.

The reading clerk proceeded to read the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday last, when, on request of Mr. KING and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.